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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

FOR

THE YEAR 1902.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOLUME II.

SIXTH REPORT OF HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION: WITH
DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF SALMON P. CHASE.

WASHINGTON:
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE,
1903.

SIXTH REPORT

OF THE

HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, CHAIRMAN.
F EDERICK W. MOORE.
THEODORE C. SMITH.
REUBEN G. THWAITES.
GEORGE P. GARRISON.
WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

SIXTH REPORT OF THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

*To the Executive Council of the
American Historical Association:*

The Historical Manuscripts Commission begs leave to submit herewith its sixth^a report. In its fifth report the commission announced that it had undertaken to prepare for publication a selection of the papers of Salmon Portland Chase, which had been brought together through the efforts of Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart and Mr. James Ford Rhodes. This task was intrusted to Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, then a member of the commission, and he had made considerable progress in his labors when such restrictions were placed upon the use of the papers that he found it impossible to complete the work. The hope was then expressed that the work might be resumed at an early day.^b At the close of the year 1900 Mr. Thwaites felt compelled to resign the chairmanship of the commission, and Prof. Herbert L. Osgood was appointed in his place. Some months later Professor Osgood resigned, owing to the press of other duties, and the present incumbent was appointed. So little time remained before the meeting of the association in December, 1901, that little could be accomplished save to make arrangements to resume the preparation of the Chase papers for publication. This was done in accordance with the wish of the commission as previously expressed, and with the advice of those who were most familiar with the papers. The Massachusetts Historical Society, in whose custody they were, kindly

^a Owing to changes in the membership of the commission during the year 1901, there was no printed report for that year, which was the sixth year of the commission's activities.

^b Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1900, 598.

placed them on deposit at the Yale University library in December, 1901, and the task of selection was undertaken. The character of the collection and the sources from which it was gathered were indicated in the quotation from Professor Hart's account of them to the Massachusetts Historical Society, which was published in the report for 1900.^a

When the chairman of the commission examined this material the great bulk of it was found to consist of letters to Mr. Chase, most of them by men of only local reputation. To examine personally the thousands of such letters preserved in this collection was an undertaking quite impracticable, and consequently the services of Dr. Ernest H. Baldwin were secured for a preliminary sifting. During the earlier years of the correspondence there was little that deserved publication, the average yield being not over four or five letters to the thousand. While this work was going on, and before the papers had been in his hands two months, the chairman was informed that the collection had been sold to the Library of Congress and would have to be sent on to Washington immediately. Fortunately Professor Hart, in pursuance of an earlier plan of publishing some selections from the correspondence of the civil-war period, had collected in one large docket the most interesting letters. Most of the rest of the correspondence was now examined cursorily under pressure of haste, and memoranda made of what seemed promising. In due time, through the kindness of the Librarian of Congress, the letters of which note had been made and the large docket of "special letters" selected by Professor Hart were returned to New Haven to be at the disposal of the commission.

The chairman feels fairly confident that the material appended to this report selected from this mass of correspondence constitutes a very large part of what it would have been found desirable to publish if the whole collection had been carefully sifted, and he doubts if the additional expense for such a complete examination would have been justified by the results. Still it was his intention to have

^a Pages 590-592; cf. also Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, December, 1899, 375-378.

such an examination made until it was interrupted by the transfer of the papers to the Library of Congress.

The letters of one of Chase's correspondents, Mr. George S. Denison, are printed in full, and constitute probably the most important addition to historical material that is made in the present report. Mr. Denison was familiar with the South before the war, and he was Chase's official and personal representative in New Orleans from June, 1862, till March, 1865, serving in the various capacities of "special agent and acting collector," "special agent and acting surveyor," and "commissioner of internal revenue."

As Chase's personal representative and confidential agent it was his duty to observe and report the progress of events, and to assist in stimulating and encouraging the formation of a Union party and in shaping its sentiments aright. The letters which follow were written by Mr. Denison in the latter capacity. They comment freely on military matters and the delicate and embarrassing problems connected with the regulation of trade. They also contain critical estimates of important characters, chronicle the course of political affairs, and discuss questions of policy, not omitting some references to Mr. Chase's political aspirations. Many of Mr. Denison's statements admit easily of verification by reference to the printed sources which bear on the period. Wherever thus tested, so great is their faithfulness to the letter and the spirit of the facts as to justify great confidence in Mr. Denison's judgment, discernment, and conscientiousness in all matters upon which he touches."

The letters written by Chase are a selection in the main from those written to Charles Sumner and to Mr. Edward S. Hamlin, of Ohio, an antislavery journalist and a supporter of Chase. The letters to Sumner have been printed almost entire for the light they throw on the friendly relations between these two antislavery leaders and upon the personality of Chase at a period in his life which his biographers have treated relatively briefly. The chairman of the commission desires to express his appreciation of the facili-

^aThis paragraph represents Professor Moore's judgment on the Denison correspondence.

ties afforded by the librarian of Harvard University for examining and securing the transcription of the correspondence, and for the authorization to publish it. The Hamlin collection was transcribed under the supervision of Dr. Friedenwald. Those letters have been selected for publication which throw light upon Chase's position in the momentous Senatorial election of 1849 and upon his attitude on national issues. Those that have been omitted are merely repetitions of the matter contained in those printed, or relate to matters of purely temporary and local interest. These letters add considerably to the number printed in Warden and Schuckers. The number could no doubt have been increased by further effort, but it must be remembered that both Warden and Schuckers had already swept the field, and, second, that Chase had no such body of correspondents as did Charles Sumner. The letter books had been gleaned by Dr. Friedenwald, and the transcripts made under his supervision have been used, as was the case with the Hamlin letters. In a few cases the illegibility of the writing has baffled the transcriber.

The text of the diary is from a transcript made under the supervision of Professor Hart. Most of this record was published by Warden, and considerable portions of it by Schuckers, and it will no doubt seem to some open to question whether it should be reprinted by the commission. In favor of such a republication it may be said that although Warden reproduced his extracts accurately enough his method is so unsystematic that the student never knows whether the whole of the entry of the day is given, and the date of the entries is not always clear. Again, the narrative is constantly interrupted by garrulous comment, and, finally, his work has long been out of print. In view, then, of the intrinsic historical importance of this contemporary record, and of the fragmentary and unsatisfactory form in which it would otherwise be accessible, it was decided to include it in this report.

Prefixed to the selections from the Chase papers will be found a brief calendar of some six hundred of Chase's private letters that have been previously published. This

calendar was prepared under the supervision of the chairman by Mr. Samuel H. Dodson, of Yale University.

The chairman wishes to acknowledge the valuable work done by Dr. Friedenwald in the collection and transcription of the Chase-Hamlin letters, and of the letters copied from Chase's letter books.

The editorial work for the present volume has been done by the chairman of the commission, except that upon the Denison correspondence, which was undertaken by Professor Moore, whose studies in Louisiana history since the civil war enabled him to render exceptionally valuable assistance. In regard to editorial annotation, it was thought best to err on the side of too little rather than on that of too much annotation.

Through the kindness of Mr. Worthington C. Ford, transcripts of the diplomatic correspondence of the French ministers to the United States—Ternant, Genet, Fauchet, and Adet—have been offered to the commission. The transcripts were made from the originals in the Archives des affaires étrangères in Paris for Mr. Ford and his brother, the late Paul Leicester Ford. These papers are now in the hands of Professor Turner, of the University of Wisconsin, who will edit them for the commission, with additional transcripts procured from Paris under his direction. Professor Turner writes that these papers, which amount in the total to about 300,000 words, clearly exhibit the policy of France toward the United States from 1791 to 1797, and throw much light on the struggle for the Mississippi Valley, not only supplementing the Clark-Genet papers, but supplying material for the years preceding and following Genet's mission. Taken together with the transcripts which Professor Turner will procure from Paris, the correspondence will throw new light on the Louisiana purchase. There is good reason to hope that this material will be ready for publication in the report for 1903.

The other members of the commission would hereby express their grateful appreciation of Mr. Ford's interest in their work and his valuable cooperation before he became a member of the commission, manifested by his putting

these papers at their disposal. They also feel deeply indebted to Professor Turner for undertaking the preparation of this material for publication.

EDWARD G. BOURNE, Chairman.

FREDERICK W. MOORE.

THEODORE C. SMITH.

REUBEN G. THWAITES.

GEORGE P. GARRISON.

WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

MARCH, 1903.

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF SALMON P. CHASE.

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PART I. CALENDAR OF LETTERS OF SALMON P. CHASE ELSEWHERE PRINTED AND LIST OF LETTERS NOW PRINTED.

Compiled by S. H. DODSON.

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PART II. DIARY OF SALMON P. CHASE, JULY 21, 1862, TO
OCTOBER 12, 1862.

MONDAY, *July 21, 1862.*

Early this morning, Count Gurowski called and told me that, yesterday, at a great dinner at Mr. Tassara's^a—the only Americans present being Gov. Seward and Senator Carlile—Gov. Seward remarked that he had lately begun to realize the value of a Cromwell, and to appreciate the Coup d'état; and that he wished we had had a Cromwell or a Coup d'état for our Congress.^b The Count said that the diplomats present were very much disgusted, and that the language of Gov. Seward injured the Administration much in the estimation of all intelligent foreigners.

After the Count left, I received a notice to attend a Cabinet meeting, at 10 o'clock. It has been so long since any consultation has been held that it struck me as a novelty.

I went at the appointed hour, and found that the President had been profoundly concerned at the present aspect of affairs, and had determined to take some definitive steps in respect to military action and slavery. He had prepared several Orders, the first of which contemplated authority to Commanders to subsist their troupes in the hostile territory—the second, authority to employ negroes as laborers—the third requiring that both in the case of property taken

^a Don Gabriel Garcia y Tassara, the minister of Spain to the United States.

^b "Mr. Seward tries to appear grand before the foreign diplomats, and talks about Cromwell, Louis Napoleon, coup d'états against the Congress, and about his regrets to be in the impossibility to imitate them. Only think, Cromwell, Napoleon I, Napoleon III, Seward!"—*Diary from March 4, 1861, to November 12, 1862, by Adam Gurowski, Boston, 1862, p. 243.*

Count Gurowski, a Polish political refugee, was at this time a translator in the State Department. His published diaries cover the period of the civil war. Some of his letters are published in Pike's First Blows of the Civil War. For a brief account of him, see Pierce, Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, IV, 128-129, and Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography.

and of negroes employed, accounts should be kept with such degrees of certainty as would enable compensation to be made in proper cases—another provided for the colonization of negroes in some tropical country.

A good deal of deal of discussion took place upon these points. The first Order was universally approved. The second was approved entirely; and the third, by all except myself. I doubted the expediency of attempting to keep accounts for the benefit of the inhabitants of rebel States. The Colonization project was not much discussed.

The Secretary of War presented some letters from Genl. Hunter, in which he advised the Department that the withdrawal of a large proportion of his troops to reinforce Genl. McClellan, rendered it highly important that he should be immediately authorized to enlist all loyal persons without reference to complexion. Messrs. Stanton, Seward and myself, expressed ourselves in favor of this plan, and no one expressed himself against it. (Mr. Blair was not present.) The President was not prepared to decide the question but expressed himself as averse to arming negroes. The whole matter was postponed until tomorrow.

After the meeting of the Cabinet, Messrs. Speed, Holloway and Casey—the first, a distinguished lawyer of Louisville, a state senator, and now Postmaster of the city; the second, a large slaveholder in South-western Kentucky; the third, M. C. from the South-western District called at the Department. Messrs. Speed and Casey were decided in favor of the most decided measures in respect to Slavery and the employment of negroes in whatever capacity they were fitted for. Messrs. Speed and Casey assured me that Mr. Holloway (although a large slaveholder) was in favor of every measure necessary for success and that he held no sacrifice too great to insure it. He would cheerfully give up slavery if it became necessary or important.

Mr. Casey, Mr. Horton and Genl. Pope dined with me. Mr. Horton condemned severely the conduct of the campaign at the Peninsula and the misrepresentations made to the public in regard to it. Genl. Pope expressed himself freely and decidedly in favor of the most rigorous measures in the prosecution of the war. He believed that, in conse-

quence of the rebellion, Slavery must perish, and with him it was only a question of prudence as to the means to be employed to weaken it. He was in favor of using every instrument which could be brought to bear against the enemy; and while he did not speak in favor of a general arming of the slaves as soldiers, he advocated their use as laborers, in the defence of fortifications, and in any way in which their services could be made useful without impairing the general tone of the service. He said he was now waiting, by request of the President, the arrival of Genl. Halleck; and he regarded it as necessary for the safety and success of his operations that there should be a change in the command of the Army of the Potomac. He believed that Genl. McClellan's incompetency and indisposition to active movements were so great, that if, in his operations, he should need assistance, he could not expect it from him. He had urged upon the President the importance of superseding Genl. McClellan before the arrival of Halleck, representing the delicacy of Halleck's future position, and the importance of having the field clear for him when he assumed the general command. The President, however, had only promised that he (Genl. Pope) should be present at his interview with Genl. Halleck, when he would give the latter his opinion of McClellan.

TUESDAY, *July 22d, 1862.*

This morning, I called on the President with a letter received some time since from Col. Key, in which he stated that he had reason to believe that if Genl. McClellan found he could not otherwise sustain himself in Virginia, he would declare the liberation of the slaves; and that the President would not dare to interfere with the Order. I urged upon the President the importance of an immediate change in the command of the Army of the Potomac, representing the necessity of having a General in that command who would cordially and efficiently cooperate with the movements of Pope and others; and urging a change before the arrival of Genl. Halleck, in view of the extreme delicacy of his position in this respect, Genl. McClellan being his senior Major-General. I said that I did not regard Genl. McClellan as

loyal to the Administration, although I did not question his general loyalty to the country.

I also urged Genl. McClellan's removal upon financial grounds. I told him that, if such a change in the command was made as would insure action to the army and give it power in the ratio of its strength, and if such measures were adopted in respect to slavery as would inspire the country with confidence that no measure would be left untried which promised a speedy and successful result, I would insure that, within ten days, the Bonds of the U. S. except the 5-20s.—would be so far above par that conversions into the latter stock would take place rapidly and furnish the necessary means for carrying on the Government. If this was not done, it seemed to me impossible to meet necessary expenses. Already there were 10,000,000 of unpaid requisitions, and this amount must constantly increase.

The President came to no conclusion, but said he would confer with Gen. Halleck on all these matters. I left him, promising to return to Cabinet, when the subject of the Orders discussed yesterday would be resumed.

Went to Cabinet at the appointed hour. It was unanimously agreed that the Order in respect to Colonization should be dropped; and the others were adopted unanimously, except that I wished North Carolina included among the States named in the first order.

The question of arming slaves was then brought up and I advocated it warmly. The President was unwilling to adopt this measure, but proposed to issue a proclamation, on the basis of the Confiscation Bill, calling upon the States to return to their allegiance—warning the rebels the provisions of the Act would have full force at the expiration of sixty days—adding, on his own part, a declaration of his intention to renew, at the next session of Congress, his recommendation of compensation to States adopting the gradual abolishment of slavery—and proclaiming the emancipation of all slaves within States remaining in insurrection on the first of January, 1863.

I said that I should give to such a measure my cordial support; but I should prefer that no new expression on the subject of compensation should be made, and I thought that

the measure of Emancipation could be much better and more quietly accomplished by allowing Generals to organize and arm the slaves (thus avoiding depredation and massacre on the one hand, and support to the insurrection on the other) and by directing the Commanders of Departments to proclaim emancipation within their Districts as soon as practicable; but I regarded this as so much better than inaction on the subject, that I should give it my entire support.

The President determined to publish the first three Orders forthwith, and to leave the other for some further consideration. The impression left upon my mind by the whole discussion was, that while the President thought that the organization, equipment and arming of negroes, like other soldiers, would be productive of more evil than good, he was not willing that Commanders should, at their discretion, arm, for purely defensive purposes, slaves coming within their lines.

Mr. Stanton brought forward a proposition to draft 50,000 men. Mr. Seward proposed that the number should be 100,000. The President directed that, whatever number were drafted, should be a part of the 3,000,000 already called for. No decision was reached, however.

FRIDAY, *July 25.*

No Cabinet to-day. Went to War Department in the morning, where I found the President and Stanton. We talked about the necessity of clearing the Mississippi, and Stanton again urged sending Mitchell. The President said he would see him. Stanton sent for him at Willard's, and sent him to the President.

In the evening I called for Mitchell to ride, with H. Walbridge. Asked him the result. He said the President had asked him with what force he could take Vicksburgh and clear the river, and, with the black population on its banks, hold it open below Memphis; and had bid him consider. He had replied that, with his own division and Curtis' army, he could do it he thought, but he would consider and reply.

I told him now was the time to do great things.

SATURDAY, *July 26.*

Sent order to close and encase the Department in respect to ex-President Van Buren, just deceased.

The President came in, to talk about the controversy between the Postmaster General and 6th. Auditor, in regard to rooms. Agreed to see the Attorney General, for whom I afterwards sent. The Attorney General had not heard of Rabe's removal, of which I spoke to him, and I directed Mr. Harrington to telegraph Rabe that the removal had been made without my knowledge or that of the Attorney General.

Genl. Pope came in about 1 P. M., and went to Photographers with me and Col. Welch. He talked as if McClellan might be returned in command and retrieve himself by advancing on Richmond, which was now quite feasible there being but few troops on the North side of the James. I replied that no such advance would be made; or, if made and successful, would only restore undeserved confidence and prepare future calamities.

Mitchell called. He had seen the President, who had postponed his decision until he could consult Halleck. Mitchell had all his orders ready for rapid movement. Told him his only course was to wait and see.

Talked with Pope about Mitchell, who inclined to think him visionary. Asked him to get acquainted with him which he promised.

Wrote Mrs. E. in reply to letter received from her.

SUNDAY, *July 27.*

A telegram from Genl. Morgan this morning apprised me of his resignation, and of his wish that I would secure its prompt acceptance. I went, therefore, to the War Department, wishing to oblige him, and also to secure Garfield's appointment in his place. Mr. Stanton was not in, but saw Watson.

Talked with Watson about the state of things. He mentioned two conversations with McClellan in November of last year, in both of which Watson expressed the opinion that the rebels were in earnest--that peace, through any arrangement with them, was not to be hoped for--and that it would be necessary to prosecute the war, even to the

point of subjugation, if we meant to maintain the territorial integrity of the country. McClellan differed. He thought we ought to avoid harshness and violence—that we should conduct the war so as to avoid offence as far as possible;—and said that if he thought as Watson did, he should feel obliged to lay down his arms.

It was during the same month that he told me of his plan for a rapid advance on Richmond, and gave me the assurance that he would take it by the middle of February; which induced me to assure the capitalists in New York that they could rely on his activity, vigor and success.

From the War Department I went to the President's, to whom I spoke of the resignation of Morgan and of substituting Garfield which seemed to please him. Spoke also of the financial importance of getting rid of McClellan; and expressed the hope that Halleck would approve his project of sending Mitchell to the Mississippi. On these points he said nothing. I then spoke of Jones, the Sculptor, and of the fitness of giving him some Consulate in Italy, which he liked the idea of. He read me a statement (very good) which he was preparing in reply to a letter from ——; in New-Orleans, forwarded by Bullitt.

After some other talk and reminding him of the importance of a talk between me and Halleck about finances as affected by the war (by the way, he told me he desired Halleck to come and see me last Monday, but he did not come) I returned home. Was too late for church. Read various books—among others, Whitfield's life. What a worker!

Spent evening with Katie and Nettie, and read H. W. Beecher's last sermon in the Independent.

Not a caller all day.—O si sic omnes dies!

FRIDAY, *Aug. 1, 1862.*

No events of much importance to-day.—A Cabinet meeting was held and a good deal of talk took place, but no results.—Blair sent me his paper on Colonization to which he referred in our long talk of yesterday.—A nice letter from my friend Mrs. Eastman.—Spent a few moments at the War Department—telegram came that the enemy has been shelling McClellan's position from Point Coggin.—Wrote to Genl.

Pope and Genl. Butler, touching, in both letters, the Slavery question.—Called on Genl. Halleck in the evening, and talked a good while with him. Judged it prudent not to say much of the war he spoke of Buell as slow but safe; of Grant, as a good general and brave in battle, but careless of his command; of Thomas he spoke very highly.

SATURDAY, *Aug. 2d.*

At Department all day—went neither to the President's nor the War Department.

Genl. Shields called and talked over movement up the Shenandoah. He told me that when he received peremptory orders to return, he had held communication with Fremont and Jackson's capture was certain. I told him of my urgency that McDowell should be ordered forward with his entire command from Warrenton, per Front Royal, to Charlottesville and Lynchburg; that the President was not ready to act; that McDowell himself was apparently disinclined, preferring concentration at Manassas and then advance to Richmond. Plain enough now, he said, that this was the true movement. He had himself telegraphed McDowell that Jackson would be Pattersonized by recall of troops from pursuit. The troops were, nevertheless, recalled and by peremptory orders from the President himself, those of Shields were directed to return to Manassas and those of Fremont to resume position as a corps of observation.

It was a terrible mistake. It would have been easy to take Charlottesville and Lynchburg—very easy; the capture of Jackson, though not at the time seen at Washington to be practicable was, nevertheless, within easy possibility; his defeat and the dispersion of his force certain. Our troops were called off when they were just upon him. The course of the whole movement was changed, for no reason that I could see. Charlottesville and Lynchburg were saved to the enemy, with their stores and the Rail Roads on which they are situated, forming the great East and West communication of the rebels. A wide door for Jackson to Richmond was opened—the very door through which, a little later, he passed; fell in cooperation with the rebel army at Richmond, on McClellan's right, left unsupported

as if to invite disaster; defeated it; and then, with the same army, pursued the Union main body to the James. Sad! sad! yet nobody seems to heed. Genl. Shields and I talked this all over, deploring the strange fatality which seemed to preside over the whole transaction. He dined with us; and after dinner, rode out with brother Edward and Nettie.

1. I. e., weakened as Patterson was by recall of troops to defend Washington the latter part of June 1861.

In the evening, several callers came in. Beebe, from Ravenna, a faithful friend—John R. French—Smith Homans—Chas. Selden—and some others. Selden says that at Cincinnati, old Mr. Molitor and Rev'd. Edw. Purcell spoke very kindly of me.

SUNDAY, *Aug. 3.*

Genl. Shields came to breakfast and to visit the Ohio men of his command in the Cliffburne Hospital. He told me he desired greatly to have a command of 5000 men and be allowed to dash as he could, breaking the lines and communications of the enemy. My daughters went with him to the Hospital.

Soon after they left, I received a summons to a Cabinet meeting. The President spoke of the Treaty said to have been formed between the Cherokees and Confederates, and suggested the expediency of organizing a force of whites and blacks, in separate Regiments, to invade and take possession of their country. Statistics of the Indians were sent for, from which it appeared that the whole fighting force of the Cherokees could hardly exceed 2500 men. Mr. Usher, Assistant Secretary of the Interior was not in favor of the expedition. He thought it better to deal indulgently with deluded Indians, and make their deluders feel the weight of the Federal authority. Most, on the whole, seemed to concur with him.

Mr. Usher mentioned a report that the Louisville Democrat had come out openly for disunion, saying that it was now manifest that the Government was in the hands of the Abolitionists. The President said, this was equivalent to a declaration of hostility by the entire Douglas Party of Kentucky, and manifested much uneasiness.

There was a good deal of conversation on the connection

of the Slavery question with the rebellion. I expressed my conviction for the tenth or twentieth time, that the time for the suppression of the rebellion without interference with slavery had passed; that it was possible, probably, at the outset, by striking the insurrectionists wherever found, strongly and decisively; but we had elected to act on the principles of a civil war, in which the whole population of every seceding state was engaged against the Federal Government, instead of treating the active secessionists as insurgents and exerting our utmost energies for their arrest and punishment;—that the bitternesses of the conflict had now substantially united the white population of the rebel states against us;—that the loyal whites remaining, if they would not prefer the Union without Slavery, certainly would not prefer Slavery to the Union; that the blacks were really the only loyal population worth counting; and that, in the Gulf States at least, their right to Freedom ought to be at once recognized, while, in the Border States, the President's plan of Emancipation might be made the basis of the necessary measures for their ultimate enfranchisement;—that the practical mode of effecting this seemed to me quite simple;—that the President had already spoken of the importance of making of the freed blacks on the Mississippi, below Tennessee, a safeguard to the navigation of the river;—that Mitchell, with a few thousand soldiers, could take Vicksburgh;—assure the blacks freedom on condition of loyalty; organize the best of them in companies, regiments etc. and provide, as far as practicable for the cultivation of the plantations by the rest;—that Butler should signify to the slaveholders of Louisiana that they must recognize the freedom of their workpeople by paying them wages;—and that Hunter should do the same thing in South-Carolina.

Mr. Seward expressed himself as in favor of any measures likely to accomplish the results I contemplated, which could be carried into effect without Proclamations; and the President said he was pretty well cured of objections to any measure except want of adaptedness to put down the rebellion; but did not seem satisfied that the time had come for the adoption of such a plan as I proposed.

There was also a good deal of conversation concerning the

merits of Generals. I objected pretty decidedly to the policy of selecting nearly all the highest officers from among men hostile to the Administration, and continuing them in office after they had proved themselves incompetent, or at least not specially competent, and referred to the needless defeat of McClellan and the slowness of Buell. Seward asked what I would do. I replied, Remove the men who failed to accomplish results, and put abler and more active men in their places. He wished to know whom I would prefer to Buell. I answered that if I were President, or Secretary of War authorized to act by the President, I would confer with the General in Chief; require him to name to me the best officers he knew of; talk the matter over with him; get all the light I could; and then designate my man.

As much as any thing, the clearing of the Mississippi by the capture of Vicksburgh was discussed. I reminded the President that after the evacuation of Corinth it would have been an easy matter to send down a few thousand men and complete our possession of the river; and of his own plan of putting Genl. Mitchell at the head of his own division and Curtis' army, and sending him to take Vicksburgh, almost adopted more than two weeks ago. Mr. Usher suggested that since Genl. Halleck had decided against this plan, on the ground that Mitchell's division could not be spared from Buell's command, and Curtis' army was needed to prevent a foray from Arkansas into Missouri, it might be well to raise a special force by volunteering for this one object of taking Vicksburgh, opening the Mississippi and keeping it open. I heartily seconded this idea and it was a good deal talked over.

At length, the President determined to send for Genl. Halleck and have the matter discussed with him. The General came, and the matter was fully stated to him both by Gov. Seward and myself. He did not absolutely reject the idea, but thought the object could be better accomplished by hastening the new levies; putting the new troops in the position now occupied by the old regiments; and setting the last to the work of opening the Mississippi. He expressed the strongest convictions as to the importance of the work,

and his desire to see it accomplished at the earliest possible period. At this moment, however, the necessary troops could not be spared for the purpose. Taking into consideration the delay incident to raising a special force, equal, perhaps, to that demanded by Genl. Halleck's plan, and the other disadvantages it was thought best to drop the idea.

In connection with this subject, Genl. Halleck spoke of the distribution of troops in the West. He said that Hardee had broken up his camp south of Corinth, and transferred his army to Chattanooga, where he now had probably 40 or 50,000 men; that Price had attempted to cross the river into Arkansas, but had as yet failed to accomplish his purpose; that a considerable force was, however, advancing northward into Missouri; and that he had sent a division and brigade, say 7,000 men, to Curtis (making his whole force about 17,000) and instructed him to prevent the invasion of Missouri; that he had also detached from Grant about 15,000 men, say three divisions, to take position at Decatur to support Buell if necessary; that Grant had still under his command about 43,000, of whom 7,000 under Jackson had been ordered to the ———— to watch Price; that Buell had 60,000, with which force he was approaching Chattanooga. These numbers give the whole force in the West, exclusive of troops occupying St. Louis and various Posts and Camps north of the Ohio;—Buell, 60,000—Grant including detachments, except Curtis', 58,000—Curtis, 17,000—in all, 135,000 men, excellent troops. He stated McClellan's army at present and fit for duty at 88,000; absent on leave 33,000; absent without leave, 3,000; present but sick, 16,000—in all, say, 140,000. Another statement makes the number fit for duty 91,000, and the total 143,000.

The President read a communication from Genl. H. proposing that 200,000 militia should be drafted for 9 months, and that the 300,000 men to fill old and form new regiments should be obtained without delay; and to prevent the evil of hasty and improper appointments and promotions, that a Board of Officers should be organized, to which all proposed action of that sort should be referred. The General condemned, respectfully but as decidedly, the inconsideration which has hitherto marked the action of the Government in

this respect, and stated one case where a Colonel had been tried and convicted of gross misconduct and was on the point of being dismissed, when he came on to Washington and returned with a Brigadier's Commission.

The General commanded my sincere respect by the great intelligence and manliness he displayed, and excited great hopes by his obvious purpose to allow no lagging and by his evident mastery of the business he had taken in hand. I cannot agree with him as to the expediency of retaining Buell and McClellan in their important commands; and I was sorry to hear him say, in reply to a question of the President, as to what use could be made of the black population of the borders of the Mississippi, "I confess, I do not think much of the negro."

Neither Mr. Stanton nor Mr. Blair were present at the meeting to-day.

When the Cabinet Council broke up, I proposed to Mr. Usher, who made a most favorable impression on me, to ride home in my carriage but he was called back by the President, and I finding my carriage had not come, rode home with Mr. Bates.

WEDNESDAY, *August 6, 1862.*

Nothing much thought of to-day except the great War Meeting—which was immense. None of the Cabinet there except myself and Mr. Bates. The President, after Mr. Chittenden had finished, said to me (the people clamoring for him) "Well! hadn't I better say a few words and get rid of myself?" Hardly waiting for an answer, he advanced at once to the stand. He was received with most uproarious enthusiasm. His frank, genial, generous face and direct simplicity of bearing, took all hearts. His speech is in all the prints, and evinces his usual originality and sagacity.

Prof. Reed and his son, Capt. Reed, and assistant, Secretary Usher dined with me. Mr. Bates and Dr. Schmidt came from meeting with me and stopped at my house. After Mr. Bates went, I played chess with the Doctor, who was far my overmatch—he beating me with ease two or three times, while I only, by accident beat him once.

THURSDAY, *Aug. 7.*

Very little accomplished as yet, though much, I hope, in the train of accomplishment. Engaged nearly all day on selections for recommendations of Collectors and Assessors. Prepared letter to President, containing names etc. etc. of candidates, with my recommendations, for Connecticut; made up in very small part on my own personal knowledge, but mainly on the representations and advice—sometimes agreeing and sometimes not—of the Senators, Representatives, State officers and Secretary Wells.

In the evening, went to War Department, where I saw Curtis' dispatch from Helena, urging the clearing out of the Mississippi before attempting inland operations; and McClellan's announcing advance of the enemy on Malvern Hill, and his purpose to order the retirement of Hooker's Division; and those of various Governors, and announcing progress of volunteering and preparations for drafting—on the whole very encouraging and denoting the greatest possible earnestness and determination among the people.

Home. Taylor, Davis, and Hopper (all blacks) called. Wrote my friend E. and sent some pencil scribblings. Mr. Gest called, but not able to see him.

FRIDAY, *August 8, 1862.*

Sent letter and scrap to my friend E., and sundry other letters to sundry people—particularly Gen. Pope's recommendation of young Perkins, with my heartiest endorsement, to Gov. Tod. Also sent Gen. Pope, by Maj. Johnson, some photographs of himself and Col. Welch, taken by the Treasury artist before he went to the field.

Attended Cabinet Meeting. Autograph letter from Queen Victoria announcing marriage of Princess Alice. Seward gave account of Order prepared by Gen. Halleck, Secretary Stanton and himself, forbidding changes of domicile and granting of passports, until after the draft. Nothing proposed and nothing done of any moment.

Directed Connecticut Abstract and my letter of recommendation to be sent to President.

FRIDAY, *August 15, 1862.*

p. and r. un peu de Marius." Saw in "Republican" account of interview invited by President with colored people, and his talk to them on Colonization. How much better would be a manly protest against prejudice, against color! and a wise effort to give Freemen homes in America! A military Order, emancipating at least the slaves of South-Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf States, would do more to terminate the war and ensure an early restoration of solid peace and prosperity than anything else that can be devised.

Commissioner Boutwell breakfasted with me. After breakfast took up the appointments in Indiana and Ohio, and arranged both substantially to my satisfaction, and I hope, of all concerned. President sent for me about the Connecticut appointments. Found there Collector Babcock, State Senator Pratt (or Platt) and Secy. Welles. Arranged the business. The State Senator got a Mr. Wright, of Middlesex, with Mr. Welles' consent, vice Cowles. Mr. Dix, by general consent, was substituted for Hammond.—Hollister was agreed to in place of Matherson whom Burnham recommended—Howard was retained at Hartford. The President said he felt much relieved. Returned to Department and instantly engaged on other Tax appointments.

No Cabinet to-day. Went to War Department. Stanton said Halleck had sent Burnside to James River, to act as second in command—or as adviser of McClellan, in reality to control him. He thought the experiment would fail, and wished I would go and see Halleck. Went. Asked about the mission of Burnside. Halleck said he could not disclose it as it was uncertain what it would really turn out to be. Asked him what was the hostile force at Richmond? He thought 75,000 to 80,000 men.—Before Pope? About 60,000.—Whole army in Virginia? About 150,000. I thought it not possible, unless Western force was much reduced. He thought a levy en masse had been made, and that it was possible for the army to bring 600,000 to 700,000 into the field. I thought the whole number could not at this time exceed 300,000 to 350,000; of which at least

α Probably "r." is to be interpreted as "read" and "un peu de Marius" as the part of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* which bears this name. What "p." means is not so clear.

180,000 to 230,000 were in the West, South-West and South-East. I enquired about East Tennessee and the Mississippi River, but got no satisfactory information on either point. He said, however, that 15,000 men had been sent from Decatur to reinforce Buell, and 15,000 from Grant to Decatur; and that Curtis was needed to prevent further inroads into Missouri. The whole interview was very satisfactory, though the General was very civil. Left with him Memoranda in behalf of Col. Carrington.

The papers show that the rebels mean to execute their threat of treating Pope's officers and soldiers as felons, and not as prisoners of war. This cannot be permitted without shameful disgrace. When will the Administration awake to its duty.

Rode out with Parsons. Judge Harris called at night when Boutwell and I were engaged on Tax appointments. I invited him to breakfast in the morning.

SATURDAY, *August 16, 1862.*

Nothing in public affairs of special note to-day. New regiments begin to arrive, but reason to hope more from new levies than old? None, that I see, except Genl. Halleck;—if he fails, all fails. Pope telegraphs that his whole force is as near the Rapidan as the nature of the country will permit, and that he is pushing strong reconnoissances beyond. Grant telegraphs that 15,000 men have gone to Decatur to replace 15,000 sent to reinforce Buell that he is now weak and may be attacked, though there is no indication yet of more than feints towards Missouri. Nothing from Burnside or McClellan.

Sent Katie \$150 and Varnum, rent, \$375.

Mr. Harrington brought in the Postage Currency. I directed that it should be received as Furnished by the P. O. Department—i. e. perforated instead of clipped, perforation being considered partial safeguard against counterfeiting.

Judge Roselius, Dr. Cottman and Mr. C. Bullitt, of New Orleans, dined with me. Also Messrs Usher, Assistant Secretary of the Interior; Major Smith, First Auditor; Meline, Clerk in Treasury Department; Col. R. C. Parsons, Reverdy Johnson and Col. Seaton. Sumner came in after dinner. Retired when he went away.

SUNDAY, *August 17, 1862.*

At home all day, except when at church.

MONDAY, *Aug. 18, 1862.*

Busy, except when interrupted by callers, with list of Collectors and Assessors. Saw Chandler and Gov. Blair at President's, and closed Michigan appointments. President insisted on Stanley, to save Trowbridge's feelings, instead of Mills, whom I recommended as best man; and Chandler and Blair concurred—none of us, however, knowing Stanley.

Thurlow Weed dined with me. Parsons was at home, but had dined, and went away. After dinner, left Weed at Willard's, where I went to call on Colonels Corcoran and Wilcox, returned yesterday from their long captivity in Richmond. They had gone to dine at the President's; and I went to Mr. Cutts' and spent an hour with Mr. C. and Mrs. D.

TUESDAY, *Aug. 19, 1862.*

Col. Corcoran and Mr. Mellen breakfasted with me. Col. C. gave interesting particulars of rebellion, and thinks their force larger than I have supposed. He says, however, that their rolling-stock and roads are in such bad order that no more than 300 can be moved at a time.

R. G. Corwin, J. G. Gest and Rep. Steele called—all about Collectorships. Went to Department, and sent Ohio appointments to the President.

Went to Cabinet. President uneasy about Pope. He sent to War Department for telegrams. There was one from Pope, at Culpeper, retiring across Rappahannock, while the force of the enemy was beyond the Rapidan at Gordonsville; one from Burnside, at Falmouth, saying that the first division of the Army of the Potomac will reach Aquia this evening. Nothing more of immediate importance.—Troops coming in to-day—11,000 already arrived. Money wanted for Bounties.

Returning to Department, telegraphed Cisco to negotiate three or four millions at rate not more than one per cent below market. Stock telegram states sales to-day at 53-8 to 51-2.

Closed Indiana appointments. Signed letter transmitting

Pennsylvania recommendations to President. Spent much time with Weed over New-York appointments. Ely called, and I advised him to come to-morrow. Thomas Brown called, and gave interesting personal history.

Dined, at 7, with Messrs. Roselius, Cottman and Bullitt—only guests, Col. Seaton, Reverdy Johnson and myself. Went to War Department. Met Stanton in the hall, and took him in my carriage to his house. He was much dissatisfied with the President's lack of decision, especially as to McClellan. Thinks Burnside too partial to McClellan to be safe.

Home. Read a little.

FRIDAY, *Aug. 29, 1862.*

The Secretary of War called on me in reference to Genl. McClellan. He has long believed and so have I, that Genl. McClellan ought not to be trusted with the command of any army of the Union; and the events of the last few days have greatly strengthened our judgment. We called on Judge Bates, who was not at home. Called on Genl. Halleck, and remonstrated against Gen. McClellan commanding. Secy. wrote & presented to Genl. H. a call for a report touching McC's disobedience of orders & consequent delay of support to Army of Va. Genl. H. promised answer to-morrow morning.

SATURDAY, *August 30, 1862.*

Judge Bates called, and we conversed in regard to Genl. McClellan—he concurring in our judgment. Afterwards, I went to the War Department where Watson showed me a paper expressing it. I suggested modifications. Afterwards saw Stanton. He approved the modifications, and we both signed the paper. I then took it to Secy. Welles, who concurred in judgment but thought the paper not exactly right, and did not sign it. Returned the paper to Stanton.

Promised report from Genl. Halleck was not made.

SUNDAY, *Aug. 31, 1862.*

Much busied at Department to-day, although it is Sunday; and spent much time with the President, endeavoring to close appointments under Tax Law.

David Dudley Field called and said we had sustained a serious defeat yesterday, and that the Secretary of War wished to see me. Went to the Department and found that Genl. Pope had, in fact, been defeated partially, and had fallen back to Centreville. Fitz John Porter was not in the battle, nor was Franklin or Sumner, with whose corps the result would have probably been very different. Little fighting to-day. Clerks went out to battle-field as nurses, Mr. Harrington went with them.

MONDAY, *Sept. 1st, 1862.*

This has been an anxious day. An Order appears declaring command of his corps in Burnside; of that portion of the Army of the Potomac not sent forward to Pope, in McClellan; of the Army of Virginia and all forces temporarily attached, in Pope; of the whole, in Halleck. Reports from Pope's Army state that its losses are heavy, but in good spirits—confirm that neither Franklin nor Sumner arrived,—and that McClellan failed to send forward ammunition.

On suggestion of Judge Bates, the remonstrance against McClellan, which had been previously signed by Smith, was modified; and having been further slightly altered on my suggestion, was signed by Stanton, Bates and myself, and afterwards by Smith. Welles declined to sign it, on the ground that it might seem unfriendly to the President—though this was the exact reverse of its intent. He said he agreed in opinion and was willing to express it, personally. This determined us to await the Cabinet meeting to-morrow.

Meantime, McClellan came up on invitation of Halleck, and held personal conference with him and the President. Soon after, a rumor pervaded the town that McClellan was to resume his full command. Col. Key called at my house and told me that he supposed such was the fact.

TUESDAY, *Sept. 2, 1862.*

Cabinet met, but neither the President nor Secretary of War were present. Some conversation took place concerning Generals. Mr. F. W. Seward (the Secretary of State being out of town) said nothing. All others agreed that we needed a change in Commander of the Army. Mr. Blair

referred to the report [support?] he had constantly given McClellan, but confessed that he now thought he could not wisely be trusted with the chief command. Mr. Bates was very decided against his competency, and Mr. Smith equally so. Mr. Welles was of the same judgment, though less positive in expression.

After some time, while the talk was going on, the President came in, saying that not seeing much for a Cabinet meeting to-day, he had been talking at the Department and Head Quarters about the War. The Secretary of War came in. In answer to some inquiry, the fact was stated, by the President or the Secretary that McClellan had been placed in command of the forces to defend the Capital or rather, to use the President's own words, he "had set him to putting these troops into the fortifications about Washington," believing that he could do that thing better than any other man. I remarked that this could be done equally well by the Engineer who constructed the Forts; and that putting Genl. McClellan in command for this purpose was equivalent to making him second in command of the entire Army. The Secretary of War said that no one was now responsible for the defense of the Capital;—that the Order to McClellan was given by the President direct to McClellan, and that Genl. Halleck considered himself relieved from responsibility although he acquiesced, and approved the Order;—that McClellan could now shield himself, should anything go wrong, under Halleck, while Halleck could and would disclaim all responsibility for the Order given. The President thought Genl. Halleck as much responsible as before; and repeated that the whole scope of the Order was, simply, to direct McClellan to put the troops in the fortifications and command them for the defense of Washington. I remarked that this seemed to me equivalent to making him Commander in Chief for the time being, and that I thought it would prove very difficult to make any substitution hereafter, for active operations, —that I had no feeling whatever against Genl. McClellan; that he came to the command with my most cordial approbation and support; that until I became satisfied that his delays would greatly injure our cause, he possessed my full confidence; that after I had

felt myself compelled to withdraw that confidence, I had (since the President, notwithstanding my opinion that he should, refrained from putting another in command) given him all possible support in every way, raising means and urging reinforcements;—that his experience as a military commander had been little else than a series of failures;—and that his omission to urge troops forward to the battles of Friday and Saturday, evinced a spirit which rendered him unworthy of trust, and that I could not but feel that giving the command to him was equivalent to giving Washington to the rebels. This and more I said. Other members of the Cabinet expressed a general concurrence but in no very energetic terms. (Mr. Blair must be excepted but he did not dissent.)

The President said it distressed him exceedingly to find himself differing on such a point from the Secretary of War and Secretary of the Treasury; that he would gladly resign his plan; but he could not see who could do the work wanted as well as McClellan. I named Hooker, or Sumner, or Burnside—either of whom, I thought, would be better.

At length the conversation ended and the meeting broke up, leaving the matter as we found it.

A few Tax Appointments were lying on the table. I asked the President to sign them which he did, saying he would sign them just as they were and ask no questions. I told him that they had all been prepared in accordance with his directions, and that it was necessary to complete the appointments. They were signed, and I returned to the Department.

WEDNESDAY, *Sep. 3.*

The getting the Army into the works and making general arrangements, went on to-day. Genl. McClellan assumed the command and returned to his old Head Quarters, as if the disastrous expedition of near eight months had been only the absence of a few days, unmarked by special incident; and, with the same old Staff, except the French Princes, Mr. Astor and Mr. Gantt, he went out as of old, to visit the fortifications and the troops. Pope came over and talked with the President, who assured him of his

entire satisfaction with his conduct; assured him that McClellan's command was only temporary; and gave him some reason to expect that another army of active operations would be organized at once, which he (Pope) would lead.

In my Department nothing especial occurred; but the expenses are becoming enormous.

THURSDAY, *Sept. 4, 1862.*

McDowell came over to-day and gave me a circumstantial account of the recent battles attributing our ill success to the conduct of McClellan in not urging forward reinforcements, and especially to the conduct of Porter and his division on the day of the last battle. He stayed all night.

FRIDAY, *Sept. 5, 1862.*

The President, at Cabinet meeting, read Pope's Report, which strongly inculcates McClellan, Porter, Franklin and Griffin; and asked opinion as to its publication. All against it on the score of policy under existing circumstances. President stated that Porter, Franklin and Griffin would be relieved from command and brought before a Court of Inquiry; and also, I think, that the Order had been made.

The President had previously, at the Department, told me that the clamor against McDowell was so great that he could not lead his troops unless something was done to restore confidence; and proposed to me to suggest to him the asking for a Court of Inquiry. I told him I had already done so, and would do so again. So, availing myself of a Messenger from Genl. Pope who came during the meeting, I sent a note to McDowell, asking him to come over. He accordingly came in the evening, and I suggested the matter to him. He thought it hard to make the demand when there were no charges. I told him I thought he could assume the charge made by the Michigan officer who, when dying, scrawled a letter saying he died a victim to Pope's imbecility and McDowell's treachery. He reflected, and then said he would make the demand. He staid again all night.

SATURDAY, *Sept. 6.*

Genl. and Mrs. Worthington breakfasted with me;—also Genl. McDowell and Mr. Haven

After Breakfast, Genl. McDowell read me the draft of his letter, which I thought excellent, but suggested one or two modifications which he adopted. I then went to the Department.

Soon after, the President came in, and asked what McDowell had determined to do. I told him. “Where is the letter?” He took it, intending to have it copied I suppose. “Well, it ought to be done immediately; for the corps must march, and Genl. Halleck feels that he must be relieved, at all events, from command. Where can he be found?”—“I cannot tell. An orderly, no doubt, can find him.” The President went away, and, later in the day, I heard that Genl. McDowell had been relieved at his own request. He came in himself, afterwards, stating the fact and adding. “I did not ask to be relieved—I only asked for a court.” I explained as well as I could, and he left me.

Afterwards, I started to War Department, but meet Seward, who said Stanton was not there. Went to President’s, where Stanton was. He spoke of McDowell’s letter, and praised it in the strongest terms.

Mr. Barney came this morning about the labor contract in New York, about which quite a difference of opinion and interest exists—one or two of our most influential journals being concerned in its continuance. The question was, whether the Contract, by its own terms, was not limited to three years, and whether an extension of it beyond that time would be, in reality, a new Contract. Doubting on the point, I referred it to the Attorney-General, who returned an answer expressing a decided opinion that the Contract was so limited and could not be extended without a new Contract.—Before receiving this opinion, I telegraphed Mr. Field to come on, if he desired to say anything further!

In the evening, Genl. Pope came in. He expressed strong indignation against Fitz-John Porter and McClellan, who had, as he believed, prevented his success. He wanted his Report published, as an act of justice to himself and his

army. I stated my objection to present publication, on the ground of injury to service at this critical time; but said that a General Order, thanking his army for what they had done ought to be promulgated. He said this would be satisfactory, (partially so, at least) but that Halleck would not publish one. I said, I would see the President and urge it.

(Mr Barney and others also called. B. having declined invitation to breakfast, but said he would come at nine, to meet Field who telegraphed he would come and call at that hour.—) Maj. Andrews came in and spoke so of Col. Crook, that I agreed to ask that he be made Brigadier-General. Major Andrew wrote a statement of what Crook did in Western Virginia.

SUNDAY, *Sept. 7, 1862.*

Mr. Field called after breakfast, and proposed to go to War Department, and we went together. Met Gurowski, who denounced what he called military usurpation, saying that Franklin's corps, marching out cheered McClellan. Found Stanton, Pope and Wadsworth uneasy on account of critical condition of affairs. Spoke to Stanton about Crook, and he promised to give him a Commission. Saw Halleck and he approved.

Went to President's, and spoke of general Order commending Pope's Army. He thought it due, and said he would speak to Halleck. Coming home met McDowell and L. C. H. Smith. Smith came home with me and spoke of battles, eulogizing in strong terms both Pope and McDowell. (Referring to my omission to reply to his letter of a year ago, I explained it as well as I could.) Field and Barney came, and I sent for Harrington. Had a long talk about Labor Contract, and dissatisfaction of our friends with Mr. Barney. So far as I could see the dissatisfaction was unreasonable. I said I could not hold the contract to be continuing, unless the Attorney-General should reverse his opinion, of which there was too little probability to warrant postponement of action, and so virtual continuance, until his review of his decision. Said I would gladly oblige party friends, but not at the expense of any breach

of public duty. Field and Barney left together, and soon after Harrington.

Received to-day telegram from Paymaster-General of New-York: "Cannot forward troops for want of means to pay State bounty. Will you exchange smaller U. S. Notes for 1000s. and 500s., to enable State to do it?"—Answered "Yes! Be as prompt in sending your troops;" and sent necessary directions to Mr. Cisco.

In the afternoon, McDowell called to say Good-bye. The Court of Inquiry demanded by him had been postponed, and he had fifteen days leave of absence. He went away feeling very sad indeed.

In the night, a large part of the army moved northward, following the force already sent forward to meet the rebels invading Maryland. Generals Burnside, Hooker, Sumner and Reno in command (Burnside chief) as reported.

MONDAY, *Sept. 8, 1862.*

Jay Cooke came to breakfast, after which we talked financial matters. He thought gold could be easily obtained on deposit at 4%; and that, by and by, on a more favorable turn of affairs, 5–20s could be negotiated. Clay came in and Cooke left. Clay and I rode towards Department in wagon. Clay said he had made up his mind to take Department and that the President and Stanton were willing he should take that beyond the Mississippi. "Would I go with him to see Halleck?" "Certainly." Halleck received us kindly but was unwell. Showed no favor to the new Department project.

Returned to Department and attended to general business. Nothing of special financial moment. Barney came in, and said that Stanton and Wadsworth had advised him to leave for New York this evening, as communication with Baltimore might be cut off before to-morrow. He would be governed by my advice. Told him I did not think the event probable, but he had best govern himself by the advice received.

After he had gone, Genl. Mansfield came in, and talked very earnestly about the necessity of ordering up, from Suffolk, 1st. Delaware and 3 and 4 New York, trained and

disciplined now 14 months, each 800 strong, say 2,400 men; and from Norfolk 19th Wisconsin and 48th. Pennsylvania, say 1,600 men; leaving at Suffolk, Forey's Brigade of four diminished Regiments, say 1,800 men in all, late of Shield's division,—11th. Pennsylvania Cavalry (a full and good Regiment) say 900 men;—and Dodge's Regiment of mounted Rifles except one Company; and at Norfolk, 99th. New-York, and one Company of Dodge's, sufficient for military police. He favored leaving Keyes and Peck at Yorktown.

He said the defences of the city were weak on the Eastern side; and that there ought to be at least 65,000 good men to hold it if McClellan is defeated—to improve victory if he is successful—He referred to old times. Was in Texas the Winter before the Rebellion broke out. Saw Twiggs who hated him because he was on Court-Martial. Was then told by officer in Council of War of K. G. C.^a that Floyd and Cobb in Cabinet and Jeff. Davis and Breckinridge, were members. In this Council of War, Orders were given to seize Navy Yards, Forts, etc. while its members were yet Cabinet officers and Senators. The Order of the K. G. C. ramified throughout the South. First offered services to Juarez, who refused them because too dangerous. They then plotted the invasion of Cuba, which failed. Then declared themselves Protectors of Southern Rights and levied a contribution upon all planters and slaveholders some giving \$5 and some \$10, and some more or less. In this way they got large sums and commenced operations. They designed to seize Washington and inaugurate Breckinridge; and in reference to this Mason wrote Faulkner advising him not to resign this letter being now in Seward's possession. This plot only failed through the bringing of troops to Washington, and the unwillingness of leaders to make a bloody issue so early. He spoke of Genl. Scott. Said he had not treated him well had placed McDowell in command over the river last year, superseding himself, and when he had asked for explanation he simply replied that his orders had been given. He felt himself wronged, but did his duty to the best of his ability. He was afterwards treated badly by Genl. Wool who did not like him, though

^a Knights of the Golden Circle.

he treated him civilly. Had lately been in command at Suffolk (an insignificant post) until summoned here to Court of Inquiry. Wanted active employment but was unable to get any. Had sent for his horses, and proposed to visit all the fortifications around the city on his own account.—I was a good deal affected by the manifest patriotism and desire to do something for his country manifested by the old General; and could not help wishing that he was younger and thinking that, perhaps, after all, it would have been better to trust him.

After the General left, went to War Department, where found the President, Stanton and Wadsworth. The President said he had felt badly all day. Wadsworth said there was no danger of an attack on Washington, and that the men ought to be severely punished who intimated the possibility of its surrender. The President spoke of the great number of stragglers he had seen coming into town this morning; and of the immense losses by desertion.

Returned home. Maj. Andrews and others called.

TUESDAY, *Sept. 9, 1862.*

Maj. Andrews came to breakfast. Told him I had seen Secretary of War, who had assured me that Col. Crook's commission as Brigadier had been sent him.

Went to Department. Directed Commission for 10th New York district to be sent to Hyatt. Directed Mr. Rogers to proceed to New York and expedite alteration in Exchange and Custom House, and make proper contracts for the same.

Went to President's to attend Cabinet Meeting, but there was only a talk. I proposed the creation of a Department beyond the Mississippi and that Clay be placed in command, with whom Frank P. Blair should be associated; and that an Expedition should be organized to Petersburg and afterwards to Charleston.

Genl. Van Ransselaer called to ask my interest for him as Paymaster-General; and Mr. Carroll, to ask the same for Genl. Griffin.---Went to War Department, where Watson told me that Genl. McClellan had telegraphed expressing doubt if there was any large rebel force in

Maryland, and apprehension that their movement might be a feint.—Watson dined with me. Read him Denison's letter from New-Orleans about evacuation of Baton Rouge Butler's black Regiment—etc., etc.

Just after dinner, Capt. ——— came in with Mr. G ———, who had been arrested near Soldiers' Home as a suspicious character—taken before Genl. Wadsworth, to whom he said he was known to me—sent by Genl. W. to me—identified and discharged. He is an Englishman of a Manchester House, who brought a letter from Mr. Sayard to acting Minister Stuart, by whom he had been commended to me. Riding around to gratify curiosity he had fallen into trouble.

WEDNESDAY, *Sept. 10.*

Mr. Skinner at breakfast.— Soon after Mr. Hamilton (James A.) came, and we conversed about the condition of things. He said the Committee from New-York had arrived, representing the views of the five New-England Governors who met lately; and that they would insist on the resignation of Messrs. S. and B. I told him I thought the mission vain—that it might be useful if all the Heads of Departments were to resign, and that I was not only ready but anxious to do so, either with my associates or alone. He criticized severely some passages in Mr. Seward's Diplomatic Correspondence especially those in the letter of April 10, to Mr. Adams, which concede the proposition that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding States to obedience by conquest, and affirm that "only an imperial or despotic Government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State." He said in them was the key to the whole temporizing policy, civil and military, which had been pursued. I could make no reply to this, except to say that I had never known Mr. Seward to object to any action, however vigorous, of a military nature, though his influence had been cast in favor of harmonizing the various elements of support to the Administration, by retaining Genl. McClellan in command, and by avoiding action which would be likely to alienate the Border States. I added that in his wishes of harmony I concurred; and that I credited him with good motives in the choice of

means to ends, though I could not always concur with him in judgment as to their adaptation.

After this conversation, I went to the Department and transacted the routine business. I also examined the Tax Law for insurgent States; Sent for Commissioner Boutwell; read and approved Regulations drafted by Judge Smith; and determined to overcome the difficulties in the way of putting the law into operation, arising from the omission of any appropriation for the purpose by Congress, by applying, so far as the District of South Carolina is concerned, the necessary amount from a small fund legally at my disposal.

Received letter from Birney, desiring that his brother should command Kearney's corps and sent it to the War Department with strong recommendations.

Genl. Kane called to thank me for my support to his appointment as Brigadier; to which I answered, most sincerely, that "he was indebted for the appointment, not to my support, but to his own merits." Indeed, while I will most gladly aid merit to place, and seek it out in order to give it place, I am resolved never from sympathy or weak compliance, to help unfit persons to position. The condition of the country is too critical for it now, were it ever excusable.

At home, Mr. Hamilton told me of the interview between the New York Committee and the President. The Committee urged a change of policy. The President became vexed, and said in substance, "It is plain enough what you want, you want to get Seward out of the Cabinet. There is not one of you who would not see the country ruined, if you could turn out Seward."

After dinner, rode to Mr. Cutts' proposing to invite Mrs. D. to ride; and was very sorry to learn from her mother that she was much indisposed.—Went to the War Department. No satisfactory information yet from army and no satisfactory account of numbers or position of the enemy. David Taylor called with Mr. Northcott, of Champaign, who wants to be commissary. Endorsed his paper, "*Recommended*"

Received telegram from McDowell, asking if it was not just to publish his letter. Answered, "Will see it done."

THURSDAY, *Sept 11th.*, 1862.

Two weeks since Hooker drove Ewell at Bristow Station— and what weeks! Ten days of battle, and then such changes,—changes in which it is difficult to see the public good! How singularly all our worst defeats have followed Administrative co——no, blunders! McDowell defeated at Bull Run, because the Administration would not supersede Patterson by a General of more capacity, vigor and devotion to the cause. McClellan defeated at Richmond, because the Administration recalled Shields and forced Fremont to retire from the pursuit of Jackson, in order that McDowell's force might be concentrated at Manassas to be sent to McClellan before Richmond. Pope defeated at Bull Run because the Administration persisted in keeping McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, after full warning that, under his lead and influence, that army would not cooperate effectively with Pope.

After breakfast this morning Mr. Hamilton took leave of me, and I prepared to go to Fairfax Seminary to visit Butterfield, who, according to the papers, is sick there. Before starting, however, I thought best to send Bannister to the War Department to learn if any-thing of importance had occurred. He returned with a note to the effect that nothing important had come from the army but that an important question was for consideration and decision, and if I would come up he would send for Genl. Halleck and the President. Went up immediately. It rained. On arriving at the War Department, found Genl. Wright, of Penna., there, with a request from Gov. Curtin to call into active service all the able bodied men of the State. The President, Gen. Halleck and Mr. Stanton submitted the question, "What answer shall be returned to Gov. Curtin?"—Gen. H. thought the important thing was to mass all the force possible on this side the enemy, and defeat him; and that a general arming of Pennsylvania would not be sufficiently available to warrent the vast expenses sure to be incurred.—Mr. Stanton expressed no-opinion as to defeat of the enemy from this side, but thought Gov. Curtin's proposal too large to be entertained, and stated that the arms for a general arming could not be furnished.

I asked Gen. H., "What force, in your opinion, has the enemy?"—"From the best evidence I have—not satisfactory, but the best—I reckon the whole number in Maryland and the vicinity of Washington, at 150,000."—"How many in Maryland?"—"Two-thirds probably, or 100,000."—"What in your judgment as a soldier, are the designs of the enemy?"—"Impossible to judge with certainty. Suppose he will do what I would do if in his place—rest, recruit, get supplies, augment force, and obtain all possible information; and then strike the safest and most effectual blow he can—at Washington, Baltimore, or Philadelphia. If not strong enough to strike a blow, he will, after getting all he can, attempt to cross into Virginia."—"You think, there is no probability of an advance into Pennsylvania at present."—"None, unless a raid."—Upon these statements, I expressed the opinion, that, considering the situation of our troops sent out to attack the rebel army, it was not impossible that a raid, at least, would be attempted into Pennsylvania, and that Gov. Curtin was wise in making provision for it; that the proposition to arm the whole people was, however, too broad; and that I thought it would be well to authorize the Governor to call out as many troops as could be armed with the arms he reported himself as having—say 30,000. The President said he was averse to giving the order, on the score of expense; but would think of it till to-morrow.

The President and Secy. Stanton having left the room, I took occasion to ask Gen. Halleck what, in his judgment, were the causes of the demoralization of the troops. He replied, there were several causes; first, the incapacity of officers from inexperience, or want of ability or character; second, the want of proper discipline; third,—a political cause, the action of the late Congress in its abolition and confiscation measures, which were very distasteful to the army of the West, and, as he understood, also to the army of the Potomac. I expressed my conviction that the influence of the last was exaggerated, and dropped the subject. I abandoned the idea of visiting Butterfield and returned to the Department, where I transacted usual routine business.

In the evening, called to enquire for Mrs. Douglas, taking some —

FRIDAY, *September 12.*

Breakfasted alone. After breakfast went to Department, putting carelessly in my pocket a roll of papers, consisting, in part, of some sheets of an Account of McClellan's Course till the junction of the Army of the Potomac with that of Virginia, and of others containing the first draft of my journal of the 10th., and in part of the 11th. On reaching the Treasury, I was a little alarmed on missing a roll; and still more annoyed when, on sending Thomas and Mr. Plant to look along the street and at the house, nothing could be found of it. What if it should fall into the hands of somebody who will make public what is not designed for publication, but simply in memoriam?

Fortunately the roll was picked up in the street and brought to me.

Little of interest occurred at the Department to-day. Expenses are enormous, increasing instead of diminishing; and the ill success in the field have so affected Government Stocks that it is impossible to obtain money except on temporary deposit, and these deposits very little exceed We are forced, therefore, to rely on the increased issue of U. S. Notes, which hurts almost as much as it helps; for the omission of Congress to take any measures to restrict bank-note circulation, makes the issue of these notes a stimulant to its increase so that the augmentation of the currency proceeds by a double action and prices rise proportionably. It is a bad state of things, but neither the President, his counsellors nor his commanding general seem to care. They rush on from expense to expense and from defeat to defeat, heedless of the abyss of bankruptcy and ruin which yawns before us—so easily shunned yet seemingly so sure to engulf us. May God open the eyes of those who control, before it is too late!

Went over to the War Department about two. Found that no important intelligence of rebel movements had been received. The Secretary informed me that *he had heard* from Genl. H. that the President is going out to see Genl. McClellan; and commented with some severity, on his humiliating submissiveness to that officer. It is, indeed humiliating; but prompted, I believe, by a sincere desire to

serve the country, and a fear that, should he supersede McClellan by any other commander, no advantage would be gained in leadership, but much harm in the disaffection of officers and troops. The truth is, I think, that the President with the most honest intentions in the world, and a naturally clear judgment and a true, unselfish patriotism, has yielded so much to Border State and negrophobic counsels that he now finds it difficult to arrest his own descent towards the most fatal concessions. He has already separated himself from the great body of the party which elected him; distrusts most those who most represent its spirit; and waits—For What?

Before I left the Department, the Secretary kindly promised me a Paymastership for W. D. Bickham; which will, when given, be a great satisfaction to a very worthy friend. We talked also of Port Royal and matters there. I advised the removal of Brannan, who is hostile to the plans of the Department and the measures of Seaton. He said he would be ordered to the North; but did not seem inclined to talk much about it.

Speaking of the number of rebels, he said he thought it could not exceed 100,000 men; but that his judgment was founded upon possibilities of supplies and transportation—not on reports.

Called at President's, and spoke to him of leave of absence to Cameron. He referred me to Seward, to whom I went, and was informed that leave was sent by last steamer. We talked on many things—Barney's appointments, conduct of the war, etc, etc,—Engaged to go together tomorrow, and urge expedition to On.—He said some one had proposed that the President should issue a Proclamation, on the invasion of Pennsylvania, freeing all of the Apprentices of that State, or with some similar object. I thought the jest ill-timed.

Judge Adams (6th. Auditor), Mr. Burnan (of Kentucky Legislature, now a refugee from his home) and Mr. Case, (formerly of Patriot, Ia., now of Portland, Me.) dined with me. The Kentucky Slaveholders were more against Slavery than the Northern Conservatives. Strange, yet not strange!

In the evening, Maj. D. Taylor, Mr. O'Harra, and Mr.

Cooke called.—later Mr. Cummings. General talk and not very profitable. Cooke and O'Harra want introduction to Genl. Mitchell for Pitt, Cooke and O'Harra, who want to buy cotton at Port Royal.—Col. Kane called and left note about McDowell.—Mr. Cummings talked about "*Bulletin*"—about the removal of one of the Editors from Custom House—about support to himself for Assembly—about distribution of stamps etc.—I got tired.

SATURDAY, 13, 1862.

Breakfasted alone. What has become of Mr. Skinner? Went to Department and attended to some matters of routine.

Went to Navy Department with Gov. Seward, according to appointment, about expedition to Charleston. Examined chart with Secretary Welles and Asst. Secy. Fox. Learned that the "*Ironsides* and *Passaic*" will be ready for sea by the 1st. October; which is more than two weeks longer than Mr. Welles gave me to understand ten days ago. Fox thinks that James Island ought to have been held and that Hunter was wrong in withdrawing our force from it; but it is now commanded by our gunboats, so that a landing upon it is easy, and a force of 10,000 or 15,000 men would suffice for the reduction of Charleston. A land force, however, would have to act mainly independently of the naval, and no naval force but ironclads could act with any efficiency because, the harbor being a *cul de sac*, wooden vessels entering it to bombard the town, would be exposed to fire from all sides, and could not pass and repass the enemy's batteries, as at Port Royal, and, by motion, make the enemy's fire comparatively ineffectual. Ironclads, however, such as the "*Passaic*" and the "*Ironsides*" could go right into the harbor, with little or no risks, and destroy the Forts, batteries and the town itself, if not surrendered. After all, it seemed to me that it would contribute greatly to the certainty of the result if a land force should be organized, and I determined to confer with the Secretary of War on the subject, as soon as possible. No time should be lost in making every arrangement for such overwhelming blows, just as soon as the ironclads are ready, as will effectually annihilate the possibility of rebel success.

From the Navy Department, we went to Head Quarters where we found Genl. [Cullom^a] who said: "We have got whipped again. We have just received a telegram that the rebels have defeated our people in Fayette County, Va., and are driving them down the Kanawha. The trouble is that our men won't fight." The style of remark did not suit me, but it is too common among our generals. In my opinion, the soldiers are better than the officers.—Genl. Halleck came in, and we asked the situation. There was nothing new, he said, except confirmation that Burnside drove the rebels out of Frederick yesterday, and had renewed the fight to-day. Heavy firing had been heard from the direction of Harpers Ferry and the Frederick and Hagerstown roads. We left Head Quarters, and I returned to the Department.

Gave O'Harra and Pitt Cooke letter of introduction to Genl. Mitchell. Visited Mr. Clarke's sealing and trimming machine for the ones and twos and found them a perfect success; and the ones and twos are sealed and trimmed by machinery, attended by the most part by women, with such prodigious advantage to the Government, that it seems difficult to imagine that coining, except in large masses, can be of much utility hereafter.

Jay Cooke writes that he has visited New-York and conversed with Bankers; and thinks that \$10,000,000 in Gold will be gladly deposited at 4%. I think that, in this way, all the Gold needed can be obtained at very small cost and without affecting the market in any way. If it succeeds, it will form not the least remarkable chapter in the history of the financial success which has attended me thus far.

Wrote to Katie and Nettie, and to Horton—to Katie, advising her not to return immediately,—to Horton about Pope.

In the evening, went to Willard's to call on Genl. Schenk, but did not see him. Met Weed, and went to his room and talked of sundry matters. He says I have done as well in the New York appointments as was possible, and advises care as to the securities taken; which advice I think very good. He thinks the time has come for vigorous measures

^aName inserted from Warden's excerpt, 473.

South; and is for freeing the slaves, and arming them as far as useful, without noise or excitement. He saw Hunter in New-York; who says that if he had been sustained, he would have emasculated the rebellion in South Carolina before now—which he seemed to believe and which I believe absolutely.

Went to War Department. Telegraph men told me that telegraph was built to Point of Rocks and several miles beyond the Monocacy towards Frederick, and that heavy continuous firing was heard, by the operator of the former place, from the direction of Harpers Ferry, till between three and four this afternoon; and that firing, though not so heavy, was also heard from the direction of Middleton, between Frederick and Hagerstown. There was also a rumor that we had captured a large wagon-train, with considerable number of prisoners. The inference from the firing heard is that an attack has been made on Harpers Ferry by a large rebel force, and a stout defense with unknown result; and that a less important conflict has taken place between the advance under Burnside and the rebel rear falling back towards Hagerstown on Harpers Ferry, (probably the former) and that the rebels have been worsted.

Telegram from Gov. Curtin yesterday states that a reliable gentleman of Maryland who had opportunities to converse freely with officers of the rebel army, says that the rebel force in Maryland is 190,000, and the other side of the Potomac 250,000—in all 440,000. This is a specimen of information collected and believed!

Came home and Cooke called with Mr. Davis, General Birney's partner, who wants him made a Major General with command of Kearney's corps. I think this should be done. We must advance all our Republican officers who have real merit, so as to counterpoise the too great weight already given to Democratic officers, without much merit. They have been more pushed than the Republicans and we have been more than just—more than generous even—we have been lavish towards them. It is time to change the policy.

SUNDAY. *Sept. 14, 1862.*

Went to Methodist Church. Mr. Brown preached good sermon.—Afterwards called to enquire for Mrs. Douglas, who, I found, had passed a bad night, but was better.

Went to War Department. Despatches from McClellan to the President—also to Genl. Halleck. First, complimentary respects to Mrs. Lincoln; ladies enthusiastic welcome of McClellan and his army “us.” The second states getting possession of Lee’s Order to Hill of 10th. troops from various directions to attack Martinsburg and Harpers Ferry on the 12th.—capture both—and then reunite at Hagerstown;—White had anticipated the enemy by joining Miles at Harpers Ferry, where the enemy made vigorous attack yesterday;—courier from Miles says he can hold out two days, but enemy is in possession of Maryland Heights;—McC. hopes before two days to relieve Miles—is already in possession of Middleton and Jefferson;—estimates rebel force in Maryland at 125,000 thinks defeat of his army would be ruinous, and therefore better to spare all troops from Washington than suffer it;—anticipates great battle tomorrow, Monday;—enemy don’t mean to go back to Virginia, but thinks Lee has blundered and hopes to make him repent of it.—Watson rode with me.

Read several books, especially article in “*Revue des deux Mondes*” on the soul. In the evening, Mr. Case called and talked of Politics and Spiritualism—especially the last, in which he is a firm believer. Says he receives letters from the inhabitants of the Sixth and other Spheres, among whom are Calhoun, Brutus and others that there is a council of the 6th., presided over by Washington, to which the control of this war is committed; that Richmond will be taken about Dec. 1st., and Charleston early in the Spring.—Dr. Rabe called and talked over California matters. Seems to have been very unfairly and unjustly dealt with. Thinks Hoffman excellent man—also Sharp, Dist. Atty. Thinks Phelps or ———, a partisan of Fremont, will be elected Senator. Rand, new Marshal, is one of Palmer, Cook & Co. set. Advised him to examine papers, and, if possible, refute charges and be restored.

Mr. Varnum, of N. Y., and his cousin, from Mass., came in and talked a little. Nothing important.

MONDAY, *Sept. 15, 1862.*

Went to Department soon after nine, stopping at Franklin's to buy glasses. Got a pair, not, I fear, exactly the best for me. Received letters from John Sherman, O. Follett, Horace Greeley, and others. Greeley's assured me that the "Tribune" had no interest in the Labor Contract, which I was very glad to learn.—Called on Attorney-General about citizenship of colored men. Found him adverse to expressing official opinion.—Met Eliot and Tabor, Mayor of New Bedford, and invited them to dine with me.—Commenced letter to Greeley; when I was reminded of my promise to accompany Mr. Case to the President's. Went with him. Found Eliot and Tabor in ante-chamber. Went in and found Blair with the President discussing affairs. Told him of the gentlemen outside, and was permitted to bring them in. Did so. Introduced Case, who shook hands, and we two came away.

Parted from Case at Department. Finished letter to Greeley, and wrote Judge Mason about Rodney, promising to do what I could for trial. Several callers—among them Col. Lloyd of Ohio Cavalry, and Col. Mason of Ohio Infantry, with two Captains. Lloyd said that the cavalry was very badly used; that forage was insufficient and irregular, and needlessly wasted; that sometimes a squadron, company or regiment was ordered out early in the morning, and left all day without any further orders. Pope he said, had nominally about 2,000 cavalry when he went South, and when he returned had not 500 fit for service. Sometimes the cavalry was ordered to march, when five or six horses in a Company would die from sheer exhaustion. Artillery horses better cared for. Lloyd desired Mason to be made Brigadier-General. Promised to make inquiries, and, if found all right, promote object.

Mr. Wetmore called about Cotton and Tobacco. Proposed that Government should take all Cotton at 20 cents and tobacco at — cents—pay this price—send it to New York—sell it for Gold—keep account with each owner, and,

at the end of the war, pay him the difference, if loyal. The idea struck me very favorably, and I promised to see him again tomorrow.

Weed called and we had a long talk. He expressed again his conviction that more decided measures are needed in an Anti-Slavery direction; and said there was much dissatisfaction with Seward in New York because he is supposed to be averse to such measures. I told him, I did not doubt Mr. Seward's fidelity to his ideas of progress, amelioration and freedom; but that I thought he adhered too tenaciously to men who proved themselves unworthy and dangerous, such as McClellan; that he resisted too persistently decided measures; that his influence encouraged the irresolution and inaction of the President in respect to men and measures, although personally he was as decided as anybody in favor of vigorous prosecution of the war, and as active as anybody in concerting plans of action against the rebels. Mr. Weed admitted that there was much justice in my views, and said he had expressed similar ideas to Mr. Seward himself. He said he would see him again, and that Seward and I must agree on a definite line, especially on the Slavery question, which we must recommend to the President. We talked a good deal about our matters—about the absence of proper Cabinet discussion of important subjects—about Tax appointments in New York, with which he is well satisfied, etc., etc.

Went to War Department between 3 and 4, and saw telegrams of McClellan. They state that the action of yesterday resulted in a decided success—that the enemy driven from Mountain Crest, did not renew the action this morning but retreated in disorder—that Lee confessed himself “shockingly whipped”, with loss of 15,000 men, killed, wounded, missing and prisoners—that he has 700 prisoners at Frederick, and that 1000 have been taken by Hooker and held—that he proposed pursuit as rapidly as possible—that Franklin on the right in advance towards Harpers Ferry, had succeeded as well as the troops on the right. News from the West also good. Nothing from Miles at Harpers Ferry but it is believed that he still holds out.

Returned to the Department, closed the business of the

day, and went home. Eliot, Tabor and Harrington dined with me. After dinner, rode with Harrington. Stopped at Mr. Cutts, to inquire for Mrs Douglas.—glad to hear she was better. Stopped also at War Department. No further news. Stanton thinks Halleck begins to realize his mistake. Said he intended to make Birney Major-General, but Halleck (or rather McClellan) had designated Stoneman. Told him that Birney had sent his letter of resignation to me, but I had declined to present it. Nothing new from the army, except report from operator at Point of Rocks of firing apparently between that place and Harpers Ferry, which may indicate Franklin or Miles in that position. Nothing from McClellan since noon.

Dropped Harrington at Ebbit House, and called on General Schenck at Willards. Helped dress his wound which looked very bad, but the surgeons say he is improving rapidly and will be able to sit up in two or three days. His daughter is with him, and most assiduous and devoted.

Home. Friend Butler and Benedict called wishing to be introduced to the President, in order to present petition for exemption of society from draft. Promised to go with them, or write note, tomorrow morning. Gov. Boutwell called and we talked of Tax Law, Stamp distribution, etc.

TUESDAY, *Sept. 16.*

Bannister at Breakfast. Went to Department, and from Department with Deputation of Friends from Mt. Pleasant, O., and Wilmington, Del., to the President and introduced them. Asked for Bishop McIlvain, the appointment of Revd. Mr. Telford as chaplain at Camp Chase which the President directed.

Went to Navy Department and advised Expedition up the James River; and said if Gen. Wool or other good General could be sent I would go myself as Volunter Aid. Mr. Welles seemed pleased with the idea; and said the "Iron-sides" and "Passaic" would be ready by the time troops could be, and might take Richmond as preliminary to Charleston.—Spoke to the Secretary of Commodore Barbheads remark to Harrington, that the Government ought to be superseded by McClellan.—Went to War Department.

Surrender of Harpers Ferry is confirmed. McClellan's victory of Sunday was probably over the rear of Longstreet's Division, which made a stand.

Weed called with Morgan, who wished to enquire about Texas Bonds issued under authority of the Rebel Government. Told him they would not be recognized and promised him copies of papers relating to the subject, from files and records of the Department. Told Weed that we must have decided action and that he could ensure it. Was going to Meeting of Heads of Departments not to Cabinet. Went over to White House. Met Seward, who said the President was busy with Gen. Halleck and there would be no meeting.

Returned to Department. Rode out to Sigel's Camp, by way of Chain Bridge, with Harrington and Dr. Schmidt. Saw Sigel and Schurz. They want to have corps organized for operations in the field. Sigel said scouts returned from Drainesville report large rebel force at Leesburgh.

Home to late dinner.—Harrington with me. Sent message to War Department for news.

WEDNESDAY, *Sept. 17 1862.*

Bannister breakfasted with me.—At Department finished Proclamation declaring States in insurrection, without the exception formerly made, with view to taking exclusive control of all purchases of cotton, sugar, tobacco and rice in insurgent States.

Judge Hoadly came. Went to War Department with him. Stanton promised the Generals he wanted, but could promise nothing else. Went also to Genl. Halleck's. Found the President and Reverdy Johnson there, talked with a Union Captain who was at Harpers Ferry at the time of its surrender. Says Maryland Heights were surrendered to the surprise of every one; that Miles was struck by a shell after the surrender of the post, just as he had put the white flag in the hands of an orderly; that there was no necessity whatever for the surrender, and that the officers were very indignant.

Warrants to-day enormous—over \$4,000,000—and unpaid Requisitions still accumulating—now over \$40,000,000. Where will this end?

Gen. Hunter came to dine with me. Expressed his decided opinion that if his Order had not been revoked, he would now have had the whole coast lined with disciplined loyal Southern men—black to be sure, but good soldiers and true.

FRIDAY, *Sept. 19.*

Recd. letter from Robt. Dale Owen (addressed to the President) eloquently urging General Emancipation; which I handed to the President at Cabinet. Stanton showed me Halleck's telegram to McClellan, dated Aug. 31, which was substantially as follows:—

“I do not know the terms of Order. I expected to leave you in full command, except of troops temporarily detached to Pope. I beg you to come up and give me the benefit of your talents, experience and judgment at this critical moment. Am completely tired out.”

This telegram announced the surrender of Halleck to McClellan. It saddens me to think that a Commander in Chief, whose opinion of his subordinate's military conduct is such as I have heard Halleck express of McClellan, should, in a moment of pressure, so yield to that very subordinate. Good may come of it, but my fears are stronger than my hopes. How differently old Genl. Scott would have acted! When up all night at the critical period immediately following the first battle of Bull Run, he was never heard to complain of being “completely tired out,” or known to try to shift any part of his responsibility upon another.

SATURDAY, *Sept. 20.*

Katie came home this morning, looking very well. . . . Nothing of special importance in any Department. Mr. Garrett called expressing great uneasiness about the B. and O. R. R. and the probable invasion of Western Virginia if the enemy is not followed up.—Genl. Mason dined with me. He is extremely anxious to have a trial in the case of Rodney Mason, who was lately dismissed the service for the surrender of Clarkville.—Received letter from Mr. Hamilton. He will come on Monday to see the President about Proclamation.

Received a letter from Miss Virginia Smith, asking my

interest for Col. Bulow's appointment as Brigadier; to which I replied that I would say a good word for the Colonel, and thought the prospect not desperate as no man is safe, now-a-days, from being made a Brigadier—not even a man of merit.

SUNDAY, *Sept. 21.*

At home to-day, under orders from Dr. F.—Mr. Montgomery of Philadelphia dined with us.—Called on Harrington, to have Dr. F. go to see Gen. Hooker, if possible. Harrington made arrangements.—Towards sun-down, called at Mrs. C's to enquire for Mrs. D., and was much gratified to find her so far recovered as to be in the parlor.—Mr. Montgomery went to church with Katie.—Bannister, Taylor and others called.

Dr. F. spoke of having been to the President's, who being very busy writing, could not see him.

Thought to myself, "Possibly engaged on Proclamation."

MONDAY, *Sept. 22d., 1862.*

To Department about nine. State Department messenger came, with notice to Heads of Departments to meet at 12.—Received sundry callers.—Went to White House.

All the members of the Cabinet were in attendance. There was some general talk; President mentioned that Artemus Ward had sent him his book. Proposed to read a chapter which he thought very funny. Read it, and seemed to enjoy it very much—the Heads also (except Stanton) of course. The chapter was "High handed Outrage at Utica"

The President then took a graver tone and said:—

"Gentlemen: I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to Slavery: and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an Order I had prepared on this subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then, my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought all along that the time for acting on it might very probably come. I think the time has come now. I wish it were a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels

has not been quite what I should have best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick, I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a Proclamation of Emancipation such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one; but I made the promise to myself, and (hesitating a little) --to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise. I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter—for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. If there is anything in the expressions I use, or in any other minor matter, which any one of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive the suggestions. One other observation I will make. I know very well that many others might, in this matter, as in others, do better than I can; and if I were satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by me, and knew of any Constitutional way in which he could be put in my place, he should have it. I would gladly yield it to him. But though I believe that I have not so much of the confidence of the people as I had some time since, I do not know that, all things considered, any other person has more; and, however this may be, there is no way in which I can have any other man put where I am. I am here. I must do the best I can, and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take."

The President then proceeded to read his Emancipation Proclamation, making remarks on the several parts as he went on, and showing that he had fully considered the whole subject, in all the lights under which it had been presented to him.

After he had closed, Gov. Seward said: "The general question having been decided, nothing can be said further

about that. Would it not, however, make the Proclamation more clear and decided, to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President; and not merely say that the Government 'recognizes,' but that it will maintain the freedom it proclaims?"

I followed, saying: "What you have said, Mr. President, fully satisfies me that you have given to every proposition which has been made, a kind and candid consideration. And you have now expressed the conclusion to which you have arrived, clearly and distinctly. This it was your right, and under your oath of office your duty, to do. The Proclamation does not, indeed, mark out exactly the course I should myself prefer. But I am ready to take it just as it is written, and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Gov. Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted."

The President then asked us severally our opinions as to the modifications proposed, saying that he did not care much about the phrases he had used. Everyone favored the modification and it was adopted. Gov. Seward then proposed that in the passage relating to colonization, some language should be introduced to show that the colonization proposed was to be only with the consent of the colonists, and the consent of the States in which colonies might be attempted. This, too, was agreed to; and no other modification was proposed. Mr. Blair then said that the question having been decided, he would make no objection to issuing the Proclamation; but he would ask to have his paper, presented some days since, against the policy, filed with the Proclamation. The President consented to this readily. And then Mr. Blair went on to say that he was afraid of the influence of the Proclamation on the Border States and on the Army, and stated at some length the grounds of his apprehensions. He disclaimed most expressly, however, all objection to Emancipation per se, saying he had always been personally in favor of it—always ready for immediate Emancipation in the midst of Slave States, rather than submit to the perpetuation of the system.

After this matter was over, I stated to the Cabinet that it had been strongly recommended that all Cotton, Tobacco,

Sugar and Rice should henceforward be purchased only by Government officers, paying to the owners, loyal or disloyal, a certain proportion of the price in New-York amounting to nearly or quite the full price in the producing States; and giving a Certificate which would entitle the owner to the remainder of the proceeds, deducting taxes and charges, at the end of the rebellion, if loyal. Having made this statement, I said I would like to have the matter reflected on, and that I should bring it up at our next meeting.

Before going to Cabinet, and on my walk to Mr. Seward's room, I met Judge Pierrepont, and invited him to dinner. Coming from Cabinet, I found a letter from Barney about Wadsworth's nomination and Weed's willingness to make it unanimous, if it is not to be considered as a triumph over him; and wrote a note to the General, asking him also to dine. Both he and the Judge came, and we had a pleasant time. Wadsworth had but one objection to saying he would be Governor, if at all, of the State and not of a section of a party; which was that it might be considered as in some sort a pledge, which he would not give to anybody. Told Wadsworth, in confidence, that the Proclamation might be expected tomorrow morning---which surprised and gratified him equally.

Mr. Smith, Chief-Clerk of the Third Auditor's office; his brother, associated with Fowler; and Dr. Schmidt, called. Also Donn Piatt. A good deal of speculation about Proclamation, of which some said a rumor was current a day or two since. I said I thought we need not despair of one yet. Chief-Clerk Smith said he had eagerly looked at the newspapers one morning lately, on the strength of the rumor, for it, and was really disappointed. I told him to keep looking.

Donn Piatt wanted young Esté made clerk. Told him I would be glad to do so, but could not promise. Mr. Piatt called to learn about Col. Hays, and Dr. Harkness about his son-in-law.

TUESDAY, *Sept. 23, 1862.*

At breakfast this morning, I proposed to Katie to ride over to the Insane Asylum and see Genl. Hooker, to which she agreed; and she having provided a basket of grapes,

peaches, etc., we went. We were very kindly received by Mrs. Nichols, who ushered us into the General's room. He was lying on a couch, but suffering no pain, he talked very freely as far as time would permit, of the recent events. He said that at Richmond, when the order came to withdraw the army, he advised McClellan to disobey, and proposed a plan for an advance on Richmond. McClellan gave him the order to advance, but, before the time for movement came, recalled it, and gave orders for evacuation. When Hooker expected to march to Richmond, therefore, he found himself, to his surprise, compelled to fall back to the Chickahominy on his way to Aquia. I said to him, "General, if my advice had been followed, you would have commanded after the retreat to James River, if not before." He replied, "If I had commanded, Richmond would have been ours." He then spoke of the Battle of Antietam, where he received his wound, and expressed his deep sorrow that he could not remain on the field three hours longer. "If I could have done so," he said, "our victory would have been complete; for I had already gained enough and seen enough to make the route of the enemy sure." After he had been carried off, he said, McClellan sent for him again to lead an advance. The General impressed me favorably as a frank, manly, brave and energetic soldier, of somewhat less breadth of intellect than I had expected, however, though not of less quickness, clearness and activity.

While we were conversing, Dr. Nichols came in and I had some talk with him in an adjoining room. He said the General's wound was as little dangerous as a foot wound could be, the ball having passed through the fleshy part just above the sole and below the instep, probably without touching a bone. I suggested the trial of Dr. Foster's balm. He made no special objection, but said the wound was doing as well as possible, without inflammation and very little matter; and he thought it unnecessary to try any experiments. I could not help concurring in this and postponed Dr. F. and his balm.—The Doctor said he first knew him when he encamped below him last year; that he became deeply interested in him; that when he heard he was wounded, he went up to Frederic, seeking him; that he

missed him; but that his message reached him, and he came down to the Asylum himself. I asked, "What is your estimate of him?"—"Brave, energetic, full of life, skilful on the field, not comprehensive enough, perhaps, for plan and conduct of a great campaign; but at least equal in this respect, if not superior to any General in the service."

Mr. Rives (of the *Globe*), his daughter and son-in-law came in and we took our leave; Dr Nichols having first strongly recommended to me to secure the appointment of Col. Dwight, of Mass., as a Brigadier General.

Returned home and went to Department Found Genl. Robinson, of Pittsburgh, there, and Mr. Platt and Dr. Harkness. Got Harrington to go with P. and H. to War Department.—Mr. Welles came in, about appointment of Pease, in Wisconsin, and I asked him to write a note about it.—Attorney-General Bates called, with Mr. Gibson of St. Louis, about pecuniary aid to Gov. Gamble both telling a very different story from Farrar and Dick. Promised to look at papers and answer tomorrow. Stanton came in about payment of paroled soldiers at Camp Chase, which I promised to provide for. Said that he proposed to make the Department of Florida, with Thayer as Governor and Garfield as Commanding General, if I approved of Garfield. I said I approved heartily. Said he had insisted on removal of Buell, and leaving Thomas in command. I could not disapprove of this, though I think less highly of him than he seems to think.—He went and Barney came in. Asked him to dine. Declined, but promised to call in the evening.—Mr. Hamilton, on invitation, came to our house to stay while in town.

In the evening, many callers—Miss Schenck, Genl. and Mrs. McDowell, Genl. Garfield, and others. Young Mr. Walley came, with letters from his father, and I brought him in and introduced him to Katie and our guests.

WEDNESDAY, *Sept. 24.*

The President called a special meeting of the Cabinet to-day, and asked our judgments on two questions:

First, as to the expediency of Treaties with Governments desiring their immigration, for voluntary colonization of blacks.

Second, As to the proper answer to be returned to the letter from John Ross, excusing the Treaty of the Cherokees with the Rebels, and asking the protection of the United States and the fulfilment of old Treaties.

On the first question, there was the usual diversity of opinion. I not thinking Colonization in its self desirable, except as a means of getting a foothold in Central America," thought no Treaties expedient; but simple arrangements, under the legislation of Congress by which any person who might choose to emigrate, would be secured in such advantages as might be offered them by other States or Governments. Seward rather favored Treaties, but evidently did not think much of the wisdom of any measures for sending out of the country laborers needed here. The President asked us to think of the subject, and be ready to express our opinions when we next come together.

As to the Cherokee question there seemed to be a general concurrence that no new pledges should be given them but that, at the end of the war, their condition and relation to the United States should have just consideration.

After Cabinet, went with Stanton to War Department, and laid before him sundry applications for positions, with such verbal support as I thought due to them. Returning to the Department, I found there young Mr. Walley, and gave him an earnest recommendation to Stanton; and was surprised, an hour or so after, to receive a note from him thanking me for my kindness, but saying that Mr. Stanton told him there was no likelihood of his receiving an appointment; and that he was going to enlist as a private. Wrote note to Mr. Walley (his father) expressing my regret.

Nothing at Department but routine—except direction to Cisco to receive deposits of gold, and a call from Eli Thayer about his project for colonizing East Florida, with which I sympathize.

Had proposed to Genl. Garfield to take him over and call on Genl. Hooker, but it rained and he did not come. After dinner, however, the sky cleared some what, and Katie and I rode out and called on him. He was still improving.

^aChase, like Seward, contemplated the expansion of the United States southward to the Isthmus. See his letter to James H. Smith, May 8, 1849.

An hour or two after our return, a band of music, which had just serenaded the President by way of congratulation on the Proclamation, came to my house and demanded a speech—with which demand I complied briefly. Gen. Clay, who was with me, responded more at length. After the crowd had passed on, Gen. Clay, Mr. Clark, of Mercer, Penna., Genl. Robinson, of Pittsburgh, and Mr. Wm. D. Lewis, of Philadelphia, came in and spent a little time with me.

THURSDAY, *Sept. 25.*

At Department as usual. The President sent for me to meet the Secretary of War. Found he had nothing to talk about except the supply of an additional sum to Gov. Gamble, of Missouri, to be used in defending the State against invasion and guerillaism. Agreed to confer with the Secretary of War on the subject. Enquired as to progress of the War. No information, and nothing satisfactory as to what is to be expected. Coming out Stanton told me that McClellan wants bridges built across the Potomac and Shenandoah, as preliminaries to movement; to which Halleck went consent. Dan helps Zeke doing nothing.^a

Delighted this morning by news of Gen. Wadsworth's nomination for Governor of New York, on the first ballot.

In the afternoon, went with Garfield to see Hooker, who was very free in his expressions about McClellan. He said it was not true that either the army or the officers were specially attached to him; that only two corps, whose commanders were special favorites and whose troops had special indulgences, could be said to care anything about him; that other officers—he himself certainly—thought him not fit to lead a great army; that he is timid and hesitating when decision is necessary; that the battle of Antietam was near being lost by his way of fighting it, whereas, had the attack been simultaneous and vigorous on the enemy's right, center and left, the rout would have been complete; that our force in the battle exceeded the enemy's by 30,000 men, and that the defeat of the enemy should have been final. He said also, that when Pope had drawn off a large part of the rebel

^aA reference to the familiar story of Daniel Webster's boyhood.

force from Richmond and orders came to McClellan to withdraw, he urged him to give, on the contrary, orders for advance; that the orders were actually given and then revoked, much to his chagrin. This recalled to my mind a conversation with Gen. Halleck at that time. I said to him, that it seemed to me our people could now certainly take Richmond by a vigorous push, as Pope had 60,000 of the rebels before him, and at least half of the remaining 60,000 were south of the James, leaving only 30,000 with the fortifications on the north side; to which Gen. Halleck replied, that it was too dangerous an undertaking. I said, "If this cannot be done, why not return to Fredericksburgh, leaving Richmond on the left?" "This," he said, "would be quite as dangerous—a flank movement, in which our army would be exposed to being cut off and totally lost." Gen. Hooker said that the movement I suggested could have been executed with safety and success. He said, also, that he was somewhat reconciled to leaving the Peninsula by being told that it was a plan for getting rid of McClellan, and the only one which it was thought safe to adopt. This he thought so essential, that anything necessary to it was to be accepted.

Returning from Gen. Hooker's, as well as going, Gen. Garfield gave me some very interesting portions of his own experience. This fine officer was a laborer on a canal in his younger days. Inspired by a noble ambition, he had availed himself of all means to acquire knowledge—became a Preacher of the Baptist Church—was made the President of a flourishing Literary Institution on the Reserve—was elected to the Ohio Senate, and took a conspicuous part as a Republican leader. On the breaking out of the War he became a Colonel—led his regiment into Eastern Kentucky—fought Humphrey Marshall near Prestonburgh—gained position rapidly—was made at my instance, a Brigadier—fought under Buell at Shiloh—and was now in Washington by direction of the Secretary of War, who proposes to give him the Department of Florida. A large portion of his regiment, he said, was composed of students from his college.

Went to Seward's to dinner, where I met the Marquis of

Cavendish, and his brother, Col. Leslie of the British Army; Mr. Stuart and Mr. Kennedy of the British Legation; Genl. Banks, and Mr. Everett. Gen. Banks earnest against more separation of forces until the rebel army is crushed.

Home. Found there Genl. and Mrs. McDowell. Soon after, Capt. and Mrs. Loomis came in. Could not help the Captain who wished to be Quartermaster of Genl. Sigel's Corps.

To bed tired and unwell

FRIDAY, *Sept. 26.*

Received note from Gov. Seward, asking me to name Consul to Rio. Named James Munroe. Another note from Fred Seward asking me to call at State Department before going to Cabinet. Called, but Gov. Seward had already gone.

Went to Cabinet. Talk about colonization. I said nothing. All the others except Welles (Stanton not present) in favor of Treaties.

Several of the loyal Governors came to-day, and in the evening I called on them. Saw Yates at the National, and left card for Berry of N. H. Saw Kirkwood at Kirkwood House. Saw Solomon at Willard's and left cards for Andrew, Bradford, Sprague, Tod, Blair and Pierpont. At Gov. Yates' room saw Genl. McClelland, of Ills., who made a very favorable impression on me.

SATURDAY, *Sept. 27.*

Gov. Andrew came to breakfast. Laughed vexed too at report in Herald of proceedings of Governors at Altoona, which he ascribed to the exclusion of reporters. While at breakfast, Col. Andrews and Lieut. Barber, both of Marietta, came in from battle-ground. The Colonel handed me Cox's Report, and informed me that Col. Clark was killed, which left him Lieut. Colonel in actual command. He gave a very interesting account of the conduct of Cox's (late Reno's) corps, both at South Mountain and Antietam. The Reports, however, were more full, and reflected the highest credit on Cox and the officers and men of his troops. Andrews said that McClellan and Burnside would recommend Cox for Major General—an object which I assured Col. A. I would most gladly promote.

Gov. Andrew said he had called on Gen. Hooker the evening before, and met Stanton and Tod. Hooker was unequivocal in condemnation of McClellan's inactivity. At Department, McClelland called and my favorable impression of last evening was strengthened. Many things in a plan of campaign which he urged seemed admirable, especially the Eastern movement from the Mississippi River.

Saw the President, and asked him his opinion of McClelland. Said he thought him brave and capable, but too desirous to be independent of every body else.

Later in the day, received telegram from Bliss, Paymaster General of New York, asking for \$300,000 in small notes in exchange for the same amount of large ones to enable him to forward eight regiments. It occurred to me that, by having these regiments sent to Louisville and Mitchell's and Garfield's brigades brought from Louisville and sent to Port Royal, with one or two brigades in addition, a successful expedition against Charleston might be immediately organized; and I determined to speak to Stanton in relation to it tomorrow. Garfield spent the evening with me and accepted invitation to make my house his home while in town.

SUNDAY, *Sept. 28.*

At Dr. Payne's in morning—sermon excellent. Home in afternoon. In the evening went to War Department about expedition to Charleston; my idea being to have New York regiments sent to Louisville, and Mitchell's and Garfield's brigades withdrawn thence and sent to Port Royal with Garfield when an immediate attack should be made on Charleston which would be sure to fall. Did not find Stanton at Department. Went to Halleck's and found him there. Had some general talk. Was informed by Halleck that the enemy was moving to Martinsburgh. "How many?"—"150,000"—"How many has McClellan?"—"About 100,000." "Where Pennsylvania troops, said to have joined him though raised only for emergency?" "All gone back."—Had talk about draft. He showed me a letter to Gamble, insisting that all officers of drafted militia above Regimental should be appointed by the President. I expressed the opinion that the principal of drafting Militia

was erroneous—that the law should have provided for drafting from the people an army of the United States. He agreed.—I asked him his opinion of McClelland. He said he is brave and able but no disciplinarian; that his camp was always full of disorder; that at Corinth he pitched his tents where his men had been buried just below ground, and with dead horses lying all around. The cause of the evil was that his officers and men were his constituents.

Leaving Halleck, Stanton and I rode together to Columbia College and back to his house. I stated my wish concerning the two brigades and Charleston. He said nothing could be done. The New York Regiments must go to McClelland, who absorbs and is likely to absorb everything and do nothing. At Stanton's, saw for the first time Genl. Harney, who mentioned several circumstances to show Frank Blair's misconduct in Missouri matters. He said it was not necessary to fire a gun to keep Missouri in the Union. I thought him certainly mistaken.

TUESDAY, *Sept. 30.*

The papers this morning confirm the news of Nelson's death. He died as the fool dieth. How sad! His early services to the Union cause in Kentucky—his generous and manly nature—his fine talents and great energy—compelled my admiration and esteem; while his cruelty and passion and tyranny, especially when excited by drink, often excited my indignation. Nothing from any quarter of much importance in a military point of view.

Genl. Garfield, at breakfast, related this: When Genl. Buell's army was on the march to Nashville, a regiment passed in front of the house of Genl. Pillow's brother, where was a spring of good water and a little stream issuing from it. As the soldiers quenched their thirst and filled their canteens and watered their horses at the stream, Pillow came out and cursed the men, forbidding them to take water and saying that if he were younger he would fight against the Yankees until the last man of them was killed or driven home. A Lieutenant commanding the Company then having expostulated with him without effect and finding the army likely to be delayed by his interference, directed him to be put under arrest, and sent him to the

Colonel. It happened that this Colonel was an admirer of Miss Stevenson—a young lady of Nashville, a niece of Pillow and a violent Secessionist—and had been in the habit of sending the Regimental Band to serenade her with “Dixie” and the like, not playing any National airs. As soon as he understood who Pillow was, therefore, he discharged him from arrest and apologized for it; and at the same time arrested the young Lieutenant. Pillow returned to his house, mounted his horse and rode to Genl. Buell’s Headquarters and complained that a slave of his had escaped and was somewhere in the army. Buell gave him leave to hunt for him and with this warrant he rode where he pleased. After fully satisfying himself he went on to Corinth and gave Beauregard a full account of Buell’s force and rate of advance. This information led to an attack on Grant’s division, which Beauregard hoped to destroy before Buell should come—and he almost succeeded in doing it.

At Department received a note from Seward, with memorandum by Stuart, Acting British Minister, of conversations with Seward about cotton. From this memorandum, it appears that Butler’s order of August, authorizing free purchases even from Slidell, and Grant’s order annulling Sherman’s prohibition of payments in Gold, were, if not motivated by Seward, fully approved by him and made the basis of assurances that no hindrance to purchase and payment on cotton for rebels would be interposed by this government. Afterwards, or about the time of these orders, Seward proposed the same policy of substantially unrestricted purchase for money, to me; and I was at first, in view of the importance of a supply of cotton, inclined to adopt it; but reflection and information from Special Agents in the Mississippi Valley changed my views. The subject was also brought up in Cabinet, and Seward proposed liberty to purchase 500,000 bales. Stanton and I opposed this, and the President sided with us and the subject was dropped. I then proposed to frame Regulations for trade to and from Insurrectionary Districts, in which was included prohibitions of payments in gold.

To this prohibition Stuart now objects as in contravention to Seward’s assurances connected with Butler’s and Grant’s orders.

After considering the whole subject, I addressed a letter to Seward declining to change the existing Regulation as to payments in gold.

Received letter from himself, stating difficulty between himself and Agent Gallagher as to Confiscation. Mellen thinking that antecedents of cotton, as to liability to confiscation in prior hands and notice to present holders, should not be investigated; Gallagher contra. Wrote Mellen that his view is approved—thinking this may relieve Seward.

WEDNESDAY, *Octo. 1, 1862.*

Seward came to Department and we talked over foreign relations, particularly as connected with cotton. Showed him my reply to his note of yesterday. He thought it would not answer, as his assurances, coupled with Butler's and Grant's Orders, committed us too far. I said I would modify it. After he left, altered my reply and sent it.

Examined Regulations concerning trade with blockaded ports, and War Orders.

THURSDAY, *Octo. 2, 1862.*

Seward came to my house with letter to Stuart, vindicating the course of the Treasury Department concerning Trade Orders and Regulations. I approved the whole; but suggested that as the regulations embraced the coal order substantially, and as Great Britain took exception to that as particularly intended for her, he might say that, to prove the absence of such intention and as a proof of the entire absence of any wish to vex trade, the coal order would be rescinded.

FRIDAY, *Octo. 3.*

The President still absent at McClellan's Army. I expect little good from this visit.

SATURDAY, *Octo. 4.*

Mr Harrington left this morning for New-York. He is instructed to hasten increase of issue of Postage Currency to \$100,000 per day. Expects to go to Boston in "Miami."

SUNDAY, *Octo. 5.*

At home to favor foot. Much better in the afternoon, and rode over to Insane Asylum to see Hooker. Was glad

to find him much improved. He said we had plenty of good officers, and that all the courage, ability and genius we needed could be found among our Volunteer Colonels. He then said that an aide of McClellan's had been down to see him with an inquiry as to how soon he would be able to take the field, and expressing his confidence with hints of important command of army moving from Washington. He expressed the belief that no decisive victory would be achieved so long as McClellan had command.

Before starting on this visit, John A. Stevens, jr., called wishing me to see Col. Hamilton about Texas;^a and I asked him to bring him to dinner. Accordingly both came. Secretary Stanton also, by accident, and Mr. Montgomery, by Katie's invitation. After dinner, Col. Hamilton spoke fully of Texas—described his escape and hiding in the woods—said that many hundred loyal Texans were now concealed in Texas as refugees—declared that the War was a war of the oligarchy upon the people—that Slavery was the basis of the oligarchy, but that the perpetuation of slavery was not more their object, than the despotic power of the class over the mass. I entered fully into his feelings; and promised to go with him to the President's tomorrow.

After he went, Gov. Morton came in and spoke very earnestly of the condition of matters in Indiana. Apprehends State defeat on the 14th., and loss of all the Congressional Districts except Julian's, Colfax's, and perhaps Shank's. Wants Indiana Regiments in the State furloughed so that they can vote. Thinks Buell utterly unfit for command of the great army under him—is slow, opposed to the Proclamation, and has had influence every way. Wishes me to go with him to President's about the regiments, which I promised to do tomorrow.

OCTO. 6—*Monday.*

Maj. Garrard called to speak about North Carolina and Genl. Foster. Foster has now 3d. N. Y. Cav., and of Infantry, 17., 24 and 25 Mass, 9 N. J., 2 Md., and 5 R. I., supported by Albemarle and Pamlico Fleet, say ten gunboats. Foster wants reinforcements,—several regiments

^a Andrew Jackson Hamilton, 1815-1875. G. S. Denison gives an account of him in his letter of September 19, 1862, p. 314.

of Infantry and another Regiment of Cavalry. Maj. Garrard desires that if another regiment of Cavalry is sent, Col. Mix should be made Brigadier.

Genl. Keyes and Maj. Bannister, with Genl. Garfield and Maj. Garrard, formed our breakfast party. Genl. Keyes spoke of the disposition in the army (McClellan, etc.) to disfavor. Republican officers. Genl. Garfield mentioned the case of a young Republican officer ordered to Kansas in 1856, who was told by his Colonel that he would not allow him to remain in the Regiment if he remained Republican. Genl. Keyes spoke of the chaplain at West Point as the most perfect specimen of a Northern man with Southern principles he ever knew, and said that when the new Regiments were organizing under Jeff Davis, as Secretary of War to Pierce, eleven out of fifteen officers were appointed from the South, and when he remarked upon it he was challenged to select the eleven better men.

Went to Department, and with Gov. Morton to see the President about furlong to enable Indiana soldiers in camp to vote; which he promised. Left the Governor with the President. Saw Col. Hamilton and arranged interview for him. Met Wadsworth and Cochrane. Asked Cochrane to breakfast.

Genl. Cochrane breakfasted with me, and after breakfast conversed freely about McClellan. He said McClellan would like to retire from active command if he could do so without disgrace, which could be accomplished and a more active General secured by restoring him to chief command, where he would now act in unison with myself. I explained frankly my relations to McClellan—my original admiration and confidence—my disappointment in his inactivity and irresolution—my loss of confidence and conviction that another General should replace him—my constant endeavor to support him by supplies and reinforcements, notwithstanding my distrust, when the President determined to keep him in command—my present belief that I had not judged incorrectly, but my entire willingness, also, to receive any correction which facts would warrant; and my absolute freedom from personal ill will, and my entire readiness to do anything which would insure the earliest possible

suppression of the rebellion. He said that Col. Key had often expressed his regret that McClellan had not conferred with me and acted in concert with me. I replied that I thought, if he had, the rebellion would be ended now; but that I feared concert between us impossible, our views, dispositions, and principles harmonizing so little. He said he would talk with McClellan and write me. I answered that I should be glad to hear from him, and was quite willing he should report to McClellan what I had said.

At Cabinet, the President spoke of his visit to the Army at Sharpsburgh, and the battle fields of Antietam and South Mountain. He said he was fully satisfied that we had not over 60,000 men engaged; and he described the position of the enemy and our own—the enemy's being much the best, his wings and centre communicating easily by the Sharpsburgh road parallel with the stream. He expressed no opinion as to Generalship, nor of results.

Seward asked what news of the Expedition to Charleston? Secretary Welles [said] the necessary iron-clads could not be ready in less than a month. I was much disappointed by this statement, remembering that ten days of a month were up; and said at once that I hoped then we should not wait for the Navy but at once organize a land force sufficient to take the city from James Island. Mr. Stanton agreed in the importance of this, and proposed to order Mitchell's and Garfield's Brigades from the West—send Garfield at once to South Carolina with these Brigades and two more Regiments—and let Mitchell go to work immediately. He said also that he proposed at once to organize an Expedition to open the Mississippi, and give the command of it to McClelland. The President seemed much pleased with both movements—but Halleck remained to be consulted. Would he oppose the President and Stanton? I thought not.

I left the Cabinet with more hope than I have felt for months.

At the President's, I met W. H. Aspinwall and invited him to come and dine with me; which he did. In conversation, I enquired what he thought of the idea of selling some \$50,000,000 of Five-twenties at about the market rate? He

thought it should be done but doubted whether more than 97½ could be obtained. I said I hoped to get 99 or 99½. He then spoke of his visit to McClellan and seemed greatly to desire my cooperation with him. He mentioned that Burnside had heard that I blamed him for having Porter restored to command; but thinks I would not if I understood all the circumstances.

FRIDAY, *Octo. 10, 1862.*

Went to Cabinet, taking Mr. Whittlesey to Department. Found the President reading telegrams from Kentucky. McCook's division engaged with Bragg's Army on the 8th, and hard pressed, but was reinforced and the enemy repulsed. All the corps up at night and in position. Slight engagement with enemy's rear guard yesterday, but main body retreated to Harrodsburg. This from Buell at Perryville yesterday morning. Stager P. Cleveland telegraphs another great battle yesterday, and no mistake about victory this time. This came this morning at ten. So we hope the best.

Nothing of much importance was discussed except Norfolk. I favored opening the port. Nothing was decided. Asked Stanton what he had done about McClelland's Army for clearing the Mississippi, and he replied "Nothing." Seward said he thought something had been done, and the President that something had been agreed on. It turned out that orders for the organization of the expedition had been given but that nothing of importance was yet done.

Home. Signed official letters and Warrants Directed Regulations of Trade with open ports to be sent to Secretary of War.

In the evening, Genl. Hunter, Maj. Halpin, Mr. Cowan, Judge and Mr. Maxwell of N. J., Genl. McDowell, Maj. D. Taylor and others called. Before dinner, Bunnister came about Col. A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, going to Ohio. Urged him to have him go if possible.

Directed 10,000 Postage Currency sent to Cincinnati.

SATURDAY, *Octo. 11.*

Surprised to read this morning that Stuart's Cavalry have taken Chambersburg, Penna. What next?

Recd. letter from John Cochrane, saying that McClellan appreciates my support while not approving his command, and would gladly cooperate with and see me; and that there is no substantial difference between us on the Slavery question.—Also received letter from Aspinwall about Fifty-two Loan, which he advises—He thinks 98 may be obtained—equivalent to, say, 75 in gold.—Also a letter from Cisco sending a \$10 U. S. Note, purloined from National Bank Note Company and falsely filled and sealed.—Wrote Cisco about detective, and enclosed Aspinwall's note and asked his opinion.—Sundry other letters received and answered.—Needham (Ky) called. I accepted Williams' declination as Assessor Louisville District, and agreed to appoint Needham in his place—he to resign Collectorship.

Genl. Hunter, Maj. Halpin, Mr. Jay and Genl. Garfield (still our guest) at dinner. Maj. Halpin mentioned that McClellan had telegraphed Head Quarters that not one of the rebels who have invaded Pennsylvania shall return to Virginia. Hope it may be so, faintly. Too many bills of the same sort protested for the credit of the drawer.

After dinner talked a good deal with Genl. Hunter, who is very well read. Asked him his opinion of Halleck. He said, "He has ability and knowledge, but does not make an earnest study of the War—does not labor to get clear ideas of positions, conditions and possibilities, so as to seize and press advantages or remedy evils." I then asked what he thought of the President? "A man irresolute but of honest intentions—born a poor white in a slave State and, of course among aristocrats—kind in spirit and not envious, but anxious for approval, especially of those to whom he has been accustomed to look up—hence solicitous of support of the Slaveholders in the Border States, and unwilling to offend them—without the large mind necessary to grasp great questions—uncertain of himself, and in many things ready to lean too much on others." What of Stanton? "Know little of him. Have seen him but once, and was then so treated that I never desired to see him again. Think from facts which have come to my knowledge that he is not sincere. He wears two faces; but has energy and ability, though not steady power." The conversation then turned

on Douglas, whose ardent friend and constant supporter Hunter was—also on other persons and things. I found him well read and extremely intelligent.

Genl. Hunter tells me he desires to retire from the Army, and have some position in New York which will enable him to resume his special vocation as a writer for the Press. He says he has written lately some leaders for the “Republican”, and has aided the Proprietor of “Wilkes’ Spirit of the Times.”

SUNDAY, *Octo. 12.*

At home all day, nursing inflamed foot—reading and conversing with Katie and friends.

PART III. SELECTED LETTERS OF SALMON P. CHASE,
FEBRUARY 18, 1846, TO MAY 1, 1861.

To W^m. H. Collins,^a Baltimore, Md.

FEB. 18, 1846.

Wrote him as follows:

“MY DEAR SIR: I have, for some time, cherished the purpose of writing to you in behalf of the Rev. C. T. Torrey now imprisoned in the penitentiary of your state. If I am not mistaken, your brother informed me that you appeared as Counsel against him, and this constitutes an additional reason for applying to you.

I shall not trouble you with any discussion of the nature of the acts for which Mr. Torrey is imprisoned.^b You know as well as I do, that by a considerable portion of our Countrymen they are regarded as deeds of mercy performed under the constraint of Christian obligation: while by another portion they are regarded as unwarrantable invasions of the rights of property.

Whichever of these opposite opinions may be correct—I hold undoubtably the first, and perhaps you hold undoubtably the second—it is certain that Torrey acted under the conviction that he was doing right—doing as he would have others in similar circumstances do to him. It is certain that he is an educated and esteemed Christian minister of unblemished character, unless his aid to the flying slaves must be regarded as a blemish. I hear also that his health is wasting away in confinement, and that he cannot live long unless released. Under these circumstances, I feel confident that I shall not appeal in vain to your benevolence to

^a From letter book 6, pp. 81.

^b Charles Turner Torrey, 1813-1846, a graduate of Yale College and a Congregational clergyman, early became an active Abolitionist. In 1844 he was convicted in Maryland of having attempted to aid some slaves to escape and was sentenced to imprisonment in the penitentiary. He died in prison May 9, 1846.

contribute your influence to his liberation. Surely neither the State of Maryland nor the individuals whose slaves escaped or attempted to escape can desire that Torrey shall die in prison among common felons. The attention of great multitudes is drawn to the fact of his incarceration both in America and Europe. Sympathy with him is deep, strong and wide-spread. Intelligence of his death in the Penitentiary of Maryland would cause a pang of sorrow, to be succeeded by intense indignation in more than a million breasts. His death would, under such circumstances, do more against Slavery than all the efforts of all his life.

Sound expediency, therefore as well as Common Humanity, seems to me to require his liberation. Let me add to you, on the score of old and I hope mutual regard & friendship, my earnest personal solicitation for your good offices in behalf of Torrey. By no act can you lay me under deeper obligation to you: and I am confident that any efforts which you may put forth in his behalf will always be remembered by you with satisfaction.

Please give my most cordial regards to the Doctor and also make my respects to Mrs. Collins."

To J. R. Giddings.^a

Oct. 20, 1846.

"MY DEAR SIR My engagements have been such since I received your last letter with the resolutions that I have had no time to write or think as I could wish. I saw by a letter from Mr. Atkins published in the Cleveland American that you read my letter to you at a meeting in Hartford and I have thought it a duty to those with whom I have acted for several years past to write to that paper stating my true position so as to prevent the dissemination among liberty men of misapprehensions under which Mr. Atkins labored and which it was natural enough he should receive from the letter unconnected with the whole correspondence. I have fail^d. in expressing myself with as much clearness as I wish^d. if I have convey^d. the idea to y^r. mind that I am prepar^d. to

^a [From letter book 6, pp. 42. Extracts from this letter were printed by Schuckers, p. 100.]

accede to any political union, w^h. is not based upon the substantial principles & measures of the Liberty men. What I am willing to give up is names, separate organizations, what I am not willing to give up is Principle & Consistent action both with reference to men & measures in accordance with principle.—I have no objectⁿ. to the reading of my letter—no complaint to make on that score—for I do not wish to conceal any sentiments w^h. it contain^d, but I fear that it was not sufficiently explicit in its terms to be free from the risk of misapprehension, when read separate from the correspondence of w^h. it was a part. In relation to your resolutions I will say that in my judgm^t. they are good, so far as they go; but they do not go far enough if intended as a basis of a political organization separate from existing parties. If intended merely as resolutions to guide the action of those who adopt them in their existing political relations, they are certainly a great way in advance of any positions heretofore takⁿ by bodies of men in the old parties & it is very desirable to augment the number of adherents to them in those parties. I would except only to one of them, viz. the resolution relating to new states, & to this only so far as its phraseology is concern^d. It seems by implication to deny the right of Congress to admit new states if foreign at the time into the union. I have no doubt that this may be done constitutionally, perhaps not by joint resolution but certainly by the concurrent action of the treaty making & legislative powers of the government. My objection to the introduction of such states is founded entirely in other considerations than defect of power, indeed so far as any such introduction has yet taken place exclusively on the consideration of slavery. I enclose you a liberty creed w^h. was drawn up by me & has been widely circulated & everywhere endorsed by the Liberty presses. May I ask of you to consider the several articles of it attentively & give me your assent or dissent to them, severally with a brief statement of the reasons of your dissent why you do dissent—Let me state to you briefly my idea of the grounds w^h. in my judgm^t. sh^d. determine the course of an honest man in political action in reference to the subject of slavery. If I were a whig in the whig party

& believed that by the action of that party the extinction of slavery & the overthrow of the slave power could be most speedily achieved I would act with & in that party supporting however for office only anti slavery men. If I were a Democrat in the democr^{tic} party, & entertained the same belief as to that party as above stated in regard to the whig party I would act with & in the democratic party supporting however for office only anti slavery men.

If I were persuaded (as I am) that there is now no reasonable prospect that either the whig or democratic party constituted as both are of slaveholders & nonslaveholders & as national parties admitting no anti slavery article into their creed & much less any avowed anti slavery measures into their action can at present be relied on for cordial, inflexible, & uncompromising hostilities to slavery & the slave power, I could (& of course do) abstain from cooperation with either of those parties & act with & in the only party with w^h. I agree as to principle & action in relation to the paramount, political question before the country. What is y^r. objection to this.—Recurring to your resolutions let me ask if you do not perceive a great practical difficulty growing out of the terms “satisfactory evidence” &c? You on the Reserve, Whigs, Liberty men, & democrats thought there was satisfactory evidence that Mr. Bebb was hostile to whole the black code.^a The Cleveland American gave him full credit for such hostility & yet in Mercer Co. where of all places on earth Mr. Bebb should have been outspoken in denunciation of the cruel outrages on the blacks & of the laws which lead to such outrages we find him most materially changing his ground, stating as a ground for the repeal of the testimony clause the expectation of a slaveholder that he could then get at abolitionists who aided the escape of fugitive slaves by means of their testimony when recaptured, & actually proposing a law to prevent colonization of colored people in Ohio, & to that end, suggesting a law to prevent them from holding real estate! He reiterated these views at Dayton with additions. Would these speeches have been

^a For an account of the Ohio black laws and the struggle for their repeal, see *The Negro in Ohio, 1802-1872*, by C. J. Hilekok, A. M. Published by Western Reserve University, Cleveland, 1896.

satisfactory evidence on the reserve of opposition to the Black laws?

Could he have been elected had he avowed these sentiments on the Reserve or in such time that authentic reports could have reached the Reserve? The effect of such a course as this upon the confidence of Liberty men & others in Anti-Slavery men acting with the whigs, however honestly cannot fail to be appreciated by you.

To Charles Sumner.^a

CINCINNATI, Nov. 26, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR: I promised Mr. Vaughan, sometime ago, to write you in reference to the True American, but have been prevented by various circumstances from fulfilling the promise. I have little leisure now, but possibly a few words may be offered.

You are aware, doubtless, of all the circumstances relating to C. M. Clay's^b connection with the paper. I was well aware of that gentleman's aversion to editorial duty, and the last letter I rec'd from him before he left Louisville with his Company advised me that he should not continue the paper under his own charge any longer than was absolutely necessary. I had, however, no idea that its publication would be abandoned during his absence, or that he had given a discretionary power over the very existence of the paper to Brutus I. Clay, his brother, an open and avowed enemy of the movement and anxious to disengage his brother C. M. from what he (B. I.) deemed a false position. I am not yet willing to believe that Mr. C. M. Clay, in giving a general power of attorney to Brutus to act for him in all his affairs (including of course the paper) had any expectation that the American would be discontinued during his absence. He made an engagement with Mr. Vaughan^c to edit it; he accepted with expressions of gratitude my own offer of assistance,

^a All the letters from Chase to Sumner are from the Pierce-Sumner Papers in the library of Harvard University.

^b The wellknown Cassius Marcellus Clay.

^c John C. Vaughan, cf. Wilson's Slave Power, II, 143-144, 510, and Pierce's Sumner, III, 165.

which assistance, however, I am bound to say Mr. Vaughan's superior ability and tact rendered totally unnecessary; and, I feel very sure that at the time of his last letter to me he relied on the American as a powerful and indispensable auxiliary to the great effort which he designed to make on behalf of emancipation immediately after his return. Whether he afterward changed his purpose or not I am unable to say. I will not believe that he did except upon evidence. I am unwilling to condemn a man who has acted nobly, until I see proofs of absolute and total dereliction.

However, the paper by the act of B. I. Clay is discontinued. But the friends of Freedom in Kentucky are determined that it shall not stay discontinued. They have organized in Louisville and elsewhere, and have resolved that the paper shall go on under the charge of Mr. Vaughan, provided the necessary assistance can be had. To see whether this assistance can be had Mr. Vaughan has this day started for the east. I beg leave to commend him and his object to your kindest consideration. Mr. V. is a South Carolinian, and might, had he been willing to identify himself with the Nullifiers, have occupied almost any position in his native State. His principles forbade this, and he afterwards removed to this city. Almost from his first arrival his sentiments on the subject of Slavery have been advancing, until he now stands on the same or nearly the same platform which you occupy. I feel sure that no man *fitter for the time and place* can be found. As to the importance of the paper, it cannot well be overestimated. There is a vast amount of antislavery sentiment in the Slave States, which requires to be fostered and developed. All the hill country is favorable, except so far as mere prejudice prevents, to Freedom. The paper has a very good circulation in the Slave States. It is the link between the Antislavery sentiment of the North and South. It cannot be lost without great detriment to the cause both North and South. I trust, therefore, Mr. Vaughan's efforts will be liberally rewarded by the enlightened Friends of Humanity, Freedom, and Advancement in the East.

I do not often solicit such a favor, but may I beg a copy of your Phi Beta Kappa address? I believe I have hereto-

fore thanked you for your 4th July Oration on the True Grandeur of Nations, and expressed the admiration with which its perusal inspired me—an admiration shared, I believe, by all readers of the document except the devotees of Conservatism, falsely so called.

Why can not the Friends of Freedom stand together? Why exact from me, a Democrat, addresses to the Whigs, or from you, a Whig, addresses to the Democrats? Is not the question of Freedom paramount, and is it not great enough in itself and its connexions for a party to stand on, without dividing addresses?

I pray you to pardon the liberty I have taken in writing this to one to whom I am almost wholly unknown, and believe me, With very great respect, Yours truly,

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, Apr. 24, 1847.

C. SUMNER, Esq., *Boston.*

MY DEAR SIR: I am much indebted to you for your very kind letter of March 12th, to which I should have replied earlier had I not been prevented by the fear of burdening you with an unprofitable correspondence. Your approbation of my argument for poor old Vanzandt^a is very grateful to me. I gave to the effort the best exertion of my ability, in the short time allowed me for preparation, and I had collected the material for the most part previously with a view to an oral discussion. I do not suppose that the judges of the Supreme Court regarded the argument as worth much attention. I have reason to believe that the case was decided before they received it; and that the opinion was designed for no more than a cursory notice of the points in the case, under the impression that it was not worth while to consider the views presented by the on Vanzandt. I trust, however, and believe that the discussion will not be without a salutary effect upon the professional mind of the country, and if so, even though my poor old client be sacrificed, the great cause of humanity will be a

^aOn the Van Zandt case, see Schuckers' Chase, 53 ff.

gainer by it. I send you a notice of the decision which I prepared for the Morning Herald in this city. It is hurried and imperfect, but will serve perhaps to suggest something better to others. I hope you will give the argument of the court a review in the Reporter. It is, it seems to me, amazingly weak at all points. A worse decision, supported by feebler reasons, can hardly be found.

I was surprised by what you said of Judge Story. How could he regard the *Prigg*^a decision as a triumph of Freedom? The decision contains, indeed, a dictum in favor of the doctrine that slavery is local; just as the decision in the Mississippi case went upon the ground, so far as it related to the interstate slave trade, that under the Constitution all men are persons. But who, that knows anything of slaveholding aggression, will believe that, when the question of the locality of slavery comes directly in issue, there will be more regard paid to the dictum of the *Prigg* case, opposed as it is to the whole spirit of that most unfortunate decision, than was paid in the *Vanzandt* case to the doctrine of *Groves and Slaughter*^b that slaves are persons. The Supreme Court is, doubtless, composed of men of humanity—who in particular cases, involving no general principle touching what I may call the corporate interests of slaveholding, would willingly decide in favor of the liberty of individuals:—but they cannot be trusted at all when that great corporate interest is in question; and all attempts to compromise the matter by getting the court committed on such matters as the locality of slavery, in decisions of leading questions in favor of the slaveholders, will be found as unavailing as the efforts of the Philistines with their green withs upon Samson. It has been too much the fashion, both among politicians and among judges of the Free States to endeavor to get the best of the bargain in compromises. They have never succeeded and they never will. Despotism admits of no such compromises. The Devil cannot be cheated. “Resist the Devil and he will flee.” We have the highest authority for this: but there is no warrant for expecting success in an effort to circumvent him.

^a *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, 16 Peters, 539.

^b The Case of *Groves vs. Slaughter*, 1841, 15 Peters, 449. Cf. *Hurd Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I, 147, n. 2.

I saw poor Vanzandt a day or two ago. He came into town in his wagon, and sent up his son to ask me to come down to him, as he was unable to get up stairs to my office. He was very weak. Pulmonary disease had made sad work with his hardy frame. The probability is strong that before the mandate of the Supreme Court can be carried into a judgment of the Circuit Court the old man will have gone to another bar, where aid to the weak and suffering will not be imputed as a crime. I said to him that I could hardly suppose that, in view of his approaching end, he could feel any regret for having aided the fugitives, whose appeals to his compassion had brought him into his present troubles. The old man's eye lighted up, as he answered "No; if a single word could restore the man who escaped and save me from all sacrifice I would not utter it." And such I believe is the universal spirit of those who have aided the oppressed in regaining their freedom.

You have noticed no doubt the case of Habeas Corpus before Judge Downie, of the District Court at Pittsburgh. The applicants for the Writ had arrested a fugitive slave, alleged to be such, and were about to carry him off by force. His cries attracted attention, and he was rescued from them. They were then arrested under the late law of Pennsylvania, which makes it a penal offence to retake slaves with violence, and were brought before Judge Downie by the Habeas Corpus. He, like Mr. Justice Woodbury held that slaves were property under the Constitution, and that the recaptors, having used no more force or violence than was necessary, were entitled to their discharge. Thus the detestable doctrine of property in man is spreading, having received the Countenance of the Supreme Court. Is it not the duty of every lover of Liberty in the profession, to do all that he can to counteract its vices?

I wish with you that Judge M'Lean had a "stronger backbone of Constitutional Antislavery." He is a good man and an honest man, and his sympathies are with the enslaved. He emancipated one or more when he left Washington, leaving himself in debt beyond his then ability to pay. His opinions, however, are in favor of the construction of the Constitution, which he has put forth in the Vanzandt case;

a very different construction indeed from that which the Supreme Court has given in the same case, but which allows, in that case at all events, the same practical results. I suppose, however, that the military fever will carry all before it in the Whig party, and that Mr. Taylor will be the Whig candidate. He is a large slaveholder, has a sugar and cotton plantation—entertains the Calhoun opinion of slavery would be an inflexible enemy of the Wilmot Proviso would favor a high tariff, for the benefit of sugar, and probably, would regard with approbation the establishment of a Bank of the U. States. There is nothing in this character, which would make him unacceptable I presume to the “Whig party of the United States,” though the large and highly respectable antislavery portion of that Party would doubtless be not well pleased. Even of that portion, however, some, would, I fear, be willing to take the Slaveholder for the sake of the Whig, and vote for Slavery to keep out Locofocoism.

In my humble judgment, however, in the contingency indicated if the Democrats should be willing to take the Constitutional ground of opposition to Slavery, and nominate a Wilmot Proviso man who may be confidently relied on, it would be the duty of every friend of freedom to support the nomination. If the Democracy can now be brought onto antislavery ground, they will be sure to keep there until they clear the field.

With the greatest regard, Yours most truly,

P. S. I have sent some copies of my argument to some friends in England. It has struck me that as you are personally acquainted with many professional gentlemen there, you might think it useful to send some copies to them. If so, I shall take pleasure in sending to you as many as you may name.

To Joshua Leavitt, Boston.

JUNE 16 1847 (?)

I have rec^d. your letter of the 5th inst written in behalf of Alvan Stewart Esq. Chairman of the National Committee of the Liberty Party in relation to a proposed call, by the

committee of a Convention for the nomination of the Liberty Candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency. So far as I have been able to ascertain the sense of the Liberty men in Ohio it is in favor of deferring these nominations until May or June 1848: and such also is the inclination of my own judgement. Upon a comparison of advantages and disadvantages—and the question is one of expediency only—the balance seems to me to be in favor of that course. Were it otherwise, however, in my judgement, I could not with propriety—without different information as to the state of opinion among our friends in this state—concur in calling a Convention at an earlier period.

I would, however, cheerfully unite in a call for a Convention to be held this fall, to take into consideration the present aspect of the Antislavery cause, and to adopt such measures either by the nomination of Candidates for the Presidency & Vice Presidency, or otherwise, as shall, upon full consideration & comparison of views, be deemed best adapted to advance the cause of Freedom. Such a Convention assembled from all parts of the Country, would best develop the true sentiments of the Anti Slavery masses, and its decisions would, probably, be received with confidence & acted on with vigor.

Such a convention in my judgement should be composed of ALL honest opponents of slavery, willing to exert their power of the ballot for the overthrow of the great evil. The place of its assembling, recommended by considerations which seem to me weightiest, is Pittsburgh, where no great general Convention has yet been held & where the most numerous delegations may be expected from western Virginia, Kentucky & other States in similar circumstances. The time should not be later than the first week in October. Questions of greatest importance, & all if thought best, might be determined by the majority of votes, the delegates from each state, or a majority of them, casting its votes equal in number to its Electors or otherwise as the Convention itself should determine. These are my views, entertained with some confidence in their correctness. I submit them to the approval or rejection of your better judgement.

To John Thomas,^a Cortlandville, N. Y.

JUNE 24, [1847.]

Wrote him Cortlandvill: I am much obliged to you for y^r. kind letter of the 11th ult. wh. I rec^d. yest^r. It always gratifies me to hear of the condition & prospects of the great cause which engages us both & to be informed of the views & feelings of A. S. men in all parts of the Country: I wish there was more of communion between our friends. I am satisfied that it w^d. greatly allay jealousy, & insure, instead, confidence & the activity wh. springs from confidence. I can echo from the heart all you say of the 'merits of our excellent friend Gerrit Smith. I honor him & love him as a true friend not merely of human right but of humanity. Sh^d. it become necessary for the Lib. Party to nomⁿ. candidates for the P. & V. P. in '48 & sh^d. he receive that nomination, he shall have my cordial & earnest support. I have not suffic^y. compared the reasons wh. may be urged for his nomination, wh. may be urged for the nominⁿ. of some other equally reliable A. S. man to be able to make up my mind, whether I sh^d., if a memb. of a nominⁿ. convⁿ. give my voice for him in pref^e. to ev^y other. Indeed, at this time, when we can see so little of the circumⁿ. wh. must deter^e. this choice, it seems to me the pⁿ. of prudence, to note facts & traits of char. & reserve a final decision until the moment shall call for it.

It seems to me yet doubtful whether the Lib. P^y will have any occasion to nominate candidates for the Nat^l. Elec^t. of '48: I have not a doubt that Gen. Taylor will be the Whig nominee, though he says in a letter shewn me to day & of wh. I will send you a copy to morrow that he will not accept a party nomⁿ. If he be the candidate of the Whigs or a no party candidate, supported by the entire body of S. Whigs & the majority of N. Whigs, the N. democracy will be obliged to throw itself upon A. S. ground.

Even Gen. Taylor, cotton planter & sugar planter as he is—slave-holder as he is—feels, as you will see, by the letter referred to, the necessity of taking if not a favorable position, at least a neutral one, in reference to the Wilnot

^aFrom letter-book 6, pp. 94-95.

proviso. What ground then may not the democracy be reasonably expected to take? Will they not be compelled to take, substantially, the ground of the Lib. P.? If they take it, will they not constitute in part the Lib. P.—? I am not prepared to assume the prophetic char^r. & predict the events & developments of the coming winter, but I think the signs of the times are such, that we ought to wait & observe at least until Spring: and then take that course which a wise & consistent regard to the grand paramount object of the Lib. organⁿ., viz. the overthrow of the Slave Power & the extinction of slavery in our country shall lead us to. The first political aspiration of my heart is that my country & all my countrymen may be free. This is my paramount political purpose & object. To attain this end I am content to labor & if need be to suffer. I have always regarded the Lib. organization as a means to this end I now regard it as nothing more. I feel ready therefore to give up the Lib. organⁿ. at any time when I see that the great object can be accomplished without the sacrifice of principle in less time by another agency. I must indeed be well assured that such other agency will be more efficient & act upon honest principles, but once assured of this I sh^d. regard the question of duty as solved.

I acknowledge myself much gratified by the kind consideration of yrself & others. I do not think it at all probable that a contingency will arise in which the interest of the cause of Freedom will be promoted by presenting my name for the high office you refer to.

I am comparatively young, & unknown & my services to the cause have been slight in comparison with many others. For these & other reasons I do not wish to have my name spoken of for the V. P. We have worthy men enough in the West, if it be desired to have a western man. Judge King or M^r. Lewis of this State or Judge Stevens of Indiana not to mention others w^d. fill the station with honor & credit. If however it shall become necessary for the Lib. Men to nominate Candidate as a distinct party, &— what seems to me very improbable— the contingency shall arise that the friends of freedom deem it wisest & best to have my name upon the ticket, I sh^d. hardly feel at liberty

to withhold it. I sh^d. however, even then, consult my own sense of duty & be guided I trust by its admonitions.

I shall be very happy to hear further from you & to have the benefit of y^r. suggestions as to the views I have presented as to the possible inability & inexpediency of separate Lib. nominations. I see the Macedon Lock Convention has nominated M^r. Smith & M^r. Burritt. " I send you the Daily Herald of to day the leading article of wh^{ch} expresses my views of the conⁿ. and its nomination. I regard this Convention & the attempts which are made to make ecc^l. connexion a political test in the Lib. Party, as indications that the necessities of the times will require a diff^t. instrumentality from that of the Lib. P. for the overthrow of sla^y.

I send you a copy of my arg^t. for Vanzandt. He is dead & the spoiler defeated &c.

Present to M^r. Smith when you see him the assurances of my most cordial respect & affection & believe me

To Preston King,^b New York.

JULY 15, [1847.]

Wrote him Ogdensburgh, N. Y. I have no reason to suppose that you know anything more of me than what my arg^t. for Vanzandt last winter made you acquainted with, & perhaps I am unwise in writing you this letter. Still as I think it may be the means of some good to our country & the character I have heard of you induces me to believe that you will treat my communication as made in strict confidence I will proceed with what I have to say, only observ^g that I shall be glad to hear from you in reply & that you may depend on my making no other use of y^r. letter than that wh. you expressly authorize.

You are not ignorant that many of the Anti slavery men who have heretofore acted with the Lib. Party are prepared

^a See T. C. Smith, History of the Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the North West, 101, for this action of the "Liberty League."

^b From letter-book 6, pp. 96-97. Preston King, 1806-1865, Member of Congress, 1843-1847, 1849-1853. At this time a leader of the "Barnburner" wing of the New York Democrats. He became a Republican in 1854, and was United States Senator 1857-1863.

to support M^r. Wright of y^r. State for the Pres^y. upon Wilmot Pro. gr^d., understand by that term not merely the exclusion of Slav^y. from future territorial acquisition, but also a return to the line of policy marked out for the Nat^l. Gov^t. by the Ord^e. of '87, by putting the example & influence of the Gov^t. on the side of Lib^y. instead of the side of Slav^y. I am persuaded that very many Whigs of the west shall have these sentiments & that sh^d. the Whig Party commit itself to the support of any Slaveholder—even of Gen. Taylor, M^r. Wright may be elected to the Pres^y. by the votes of the Free States alone.

If there is any prob^y. that M^r. W—— may be the candidate of the Wilmot Prov. Democ^y. for the Pres^y. it is now very important to ascertain his views. The Lib. Party will hold its nominating Convention in October, and if no candidate of the other parties can be relied on for a firm though temperate & strictly constitutional opposition to Slav^y., they will doubtless nominate their own candidates & adhere to them with unanimity: whereas sh^d. M^r. Wright be likely to be a candidate upon the grounds I have indicated, a vast number of them w^d. feel it to be their duty to give him their cordial support.

For myself I sympathize strongly with the Dem. Party in almost everything except its submission to slaveholding leadership & dictation. I cannot abide the crack of the whip, but if the Demo. Party takes independent ground, & follows boldly the lead of its own principles, then I am willing to give to its nominations my humble support.

I was shewn yesterday a letter written by a gentleman, represented to be an active politician of your State & claiming to be possessed of the views of “the Great Man of New York,” meaning M^r. Wright. This writer informs his correspondent M^r. Taylor, the Editor of the Signal, that M^r. W. is prepared to render important aid to the election of Gen. T. & suggests the connection of M^r. W.’s name as can. for the V. P^y. with that of the Gen. as can. for the P^y. I can hardly imagine that there is any ground for this representation. If M^r. W. be willing to accept such a position, he is not, of course, the man to be the leader of the Democracy of the Country in the impending struggle with the Slaveh^gs.

Aris^y. & its supporters North & South. Surely such a leadership is a far more honorable position than a nomination for the V. Presidency upon any ticket whatever. I have misconceived the character of Mr. Wright if he does not so regard it. And it does seem to me that if the N. Democ^y. will but maintain the ground, which you & others marked out first last winter, its success will not be less signal than its position will be glorious.

As to Gen. T. I have reason to know him to be as honest as he is brave; but he is certainly not a democrat in our understanding of the word or in any proper understanding of it: and it seems to me that it w^d. be nothing short of suicidal vanity, to indulge the expectation that a man in his circumstances & with his connexions can ever be relied on as a friend of the Wilmot Proviso or any measure at all antislavery in its character. I shall feel much obliged by the favor of an early reply & remain

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, September 22, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR: I am not sure whether I have written to you since I received your admirable lecture on White Slavery in Barbary. I read it with very great pleasure and instruction, and in order that others might be profited and delighted also, I have sent my mite to the fund for putting it into the hands of all the professional men of New England.

Have you ever thought of the subject of Christian Slavery as connected with the Crusades? In your hands its capabilities would be well proved. That was an interesting scene at Damietta, when the Christian Slaves met their Crusader Deliverers.

I send you by this mail a very accurate, though somewhat too favorable, report of Mr. Corwin's late speech at Carthage. I also send you, enclosed, a clip from the Herald, quoting the Chronicle's account of Mr. Corwin's attack upon the Abolitionists. This part of Mr. Corwin's speech pleased the proslavery people, hereabouts, more than his

censure of the war offended them. It pained me; for, though I was well aware that Mr. Corwin formerly sympathized little or not at all, with those who adopt an anti-slavery construction of the Constitution, and proposed to carry their construction out by a system of practical measures, I did hope that his late experience had taught him better, and that he was prepared to occupy high and independent anti-slavery ground. He is where he was, however, and there I must leave him, until he comes to a better mind.

And now what is the true policy of practical, do something antislavery men? Shall we stand apart Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty men, and neutralize each other? Or shall we unite? I am for Union. I care nothing for names. All that I ask for is a platform and an issue, not buried out of sight, but palpable and paramount. Can we not have such a platform—such an issue?

You mentioned in your letter of March last that the Constitutional views presented in the Vanzandt argument might be a basis of political action. They present what seems to me a fair and unexceptionable construction of the Constitution,—its true theory as I verily believe. Why cannot we all unite upon them, and so for the practical measures thence resulting, Wilmot Proviso, Slavery abolition in the District, and the like?

We shall hold our Liberty Convention in October. I wish sensible Anti-Slavery Whigs would be there. I shall try, with others, to have the nomination postponed until Spring or early summer. The presence of such Whigs and like-minded Democrats would aid this result materially: then, with the developments of the winter recommending it, we could form a powerful party of Independents in the Spring.

You have no doubt seen my name connected with the Liberty nominations this fall. Of course holding such views as I have expressed, I could not myself accept any nomination at this time; and should nominations be postponed until Spring I am strong in the faith that a more available man will then be found.

I am much obliged by your kind attentions to my partner when in Boston.

Always glad to hear from you, I shall be particularly pleased to have an early answer to this.

Very truly your friend,

P. S.—Did you notice the review of the decision in the Vanzandt case in the last number of the West. Law Journal? It was written by a young lawyer here of great promise.

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, Dec. 2, 1847.

MY DEAR SIR: Several months have elapsed since I rec'd your last valued letter, and the delay of my answer has not been occasioned by an indifference to your correspondence, far from this,--but by a consciousness that I could write nothing of particular interest to you. Within the last few months however much has occurred, of deep interest to the friends of Freedom and Progress, and it seems to be time that some beginnings should be made towards a mutual understanding in regard to the best course to be pursued during the approaching national canvass.

It was a great blow for Liberty and the Right that struck at Herkimer.^a The Conventions of both Parties in your State,—the Old Bay State to which we were wont to look for examples of devotion to Freedom, had repudiated the only measure, which, during the last quarter of a century, has been brought forward successfully in Congress, of an anti-slavery character. The sluggish depths of Servilism apparently without Soundings were stirred for the first time since the triumph of Slaveholders on the Missouri Question, by a bold and decided movement for the arrest of westward progress of the Great Cause. The Wilmot Proviso, carried in the House by an overwhelming majority, failed, in the Senate, -sad to say through the folly or worse of a Massachusetts Senator. Ten political lives of

^aThe mass meeting of Anti-Slavery Democrats, October 26. See Shepard's Van Buren, 357-58.

ten John Davises, spent in earnest efforts in the best direction could not compensate for this half hour's mischief.^a

The Slaveholders, startled by the sudden outburst of Free Sentiment, recovered their equanimity, when Congress had adjourned without adopting the proviso. At the next session, the Sentiment in favor of the proviso had visibly lost strength. Carried in the House, it was defeated in the Senate. Returned to the House, it was lost there. Emboldened, by these events, the Senate took more decided steps. In your State Convention the Proviso was smothered. Mr. Secretary Buchanan wrote his letter. Mr. Vice President Dallas made his speech. Who will bid highest for Southern votes? was now the question. The votes of the complaisant North were thought to be safe-secured by the bonds which Party gives to despotism. The Syracuse Convention met, and the Proviso was smothered there. A ticket of Anti-Proviso men was nominated, and the faithful were called upon to stand by the Party nomination. We felt the effect of this in Ohio. The friends of the Proviso were discouraged. Few, comparatively,—except the old Soldiers in the Antislavery warfare who with Spartan valor and in Spartan numbers have carried the Liberty banners through two election conflicts,—could be found who were willing to pledge themselves, come what might, to the Cause of Freedom. In this state of things, came the clarion call for the Herkimer Convention. I thank God that that call reached the hearts of the people of the Empire State! They rallied to the Convention. They repudiated the Syracuse Servilism. They resolved that the Wilmot Proviso—the stone which the builders rejected—should be made the head of the corner. The election followed. The Serviles were overthrown, and the Country was saved. I may be greatly in error, but I know of no event in the History of Parties in this Country, at all approaching, in sublimity and moment, the Herkimer Convention, or rather the great movement of which the Convention was the most signal, visible expression. I think there can now be no doubt that the

^aReferring to the prevalent belief that Davis's speech in favor of the Proviso at the end of the session was so long that no time was left for a vote. Cf. Von Holst, III, 287-289; Henry Wilson, *Slave Power*, II, 17, seriously questions whether the Proviso could in any case have passed the Senate.

Proviso is safe in Ohio, with both parties; nor can I believe that it can be successfully opposed in Congress.

But what next? Is there not great danger that the friends of freedom may be tricked out of the fruits of their labors by dexterous management of the Presidential Canvass? Will not a great effort be made to keep both parties together upon their old platforms? Will not attempts be made to select men who will be acceptable to the Slaveholders, and in their attempts will not love of office get the ascendancy over love of country, and secure the nomination of a devotee of Slavery or at least a worse man, a Compromiser? Great efforts are being made I am well assured to bring Mr. Clay out as the candidate of the Whigs. His friends hope to manage the Taylor movement so as to make it contribute to this result. On the other hand the Democracy seems to be looking towards Woodbury and Cass chiefly; either of whom, would, I presume, give any desired pledges to the Slaveholders. There is, indeed, a very considerable opposition to these men; but, I fancy, it is hardly powerful enough to secure for any other person the choice of the party. I have heard, of late, indeed that Woodbury's decision in the Vanzandt case has gained for him the favor of Mr. Calhoun, while General Taylor's response to the signal^a letter has shaken the confidence of the Perpetualists in him.

In this state of things what is to be done? Cannot a great Convention of all Antislavery men be held at Pittsburgh, say next May or June, and put a ticket in nomination, which will at all events receive votes enough to carry the nominees into the House, with a reasonably fair prospect that the choice may fall on them, and, at all events, with a very good prospect of their election by the people in 1852? I have a good deal of faith in a movement of this kind. In the hope of aiding it I went to the Buffalo Convention and urged a postponement of the nomination. In that I did not succeed. I feel quite confident however that the nominees of that Convention will not stand in the way of such a movement. I declined its nomination for the Vice P'y, partly that I might be at liberty, more efficiently, to promote it, though you

^aWritten from Monterey, Mexico, May 18, 1847, to the editor of the Cincinnati Signal, who had urged the nomination of General Taylor, April 13, 1847. It is printed in Niles' Register, July 3, 1847, p. 288.

will readily conceive other and very sufficient reasons, why I—wholly unknown, and, out of my profession, wholly inexperienced—should decline such a nomination. Such a movement shall have, of course, my best efforts. I think there are multitudes,—I may be too sanguine—yet not active who will aid it. What do you and those friends who act with you think of it?

I send you by the mail which will convey this a number of the National Press, which contains three articles which will interest you. In your last you asked as to Judge M'Lean's position. One of these articles defines it, and, I am warranted by what I have heard from the Judge, in saying it defines it correctly. Another of them is an account of a recent slave case, tried at Columbus. The report is a good one. The verdict astonished most people. The motion for new trial is continued till next term. Will you make an abstract of the case for the "Reporter"? The other article is Mr. Cary's Speech against the War. Is it not strange that a gentleman who makes this speech is a thorough Calhoun man on the Subject of Slavery?

Very truly and faithfully your friend,

. Did I ever mention my wish that some copies of the Vanzandt argument might teach some of the legal minds of England? Will you be kind enough to aid in the accomplishment of that wish?

To Charles Sumner

CINCINNATI, Jan'y. 16, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. L. A. Hise, the author of the accompanying note. I trust it will be in your power, to comply with the request which he makes, in behalf of the periodical of which he is Editor. A bold and clear exposition of the present relation of parties to each other and the republic could not fail to be useful, and I know of no one to whose hands such a task could be more safely confided than to yours. I believe it is the purpose of the publisher to make compensation for articles furnished, but at what rate I am not advised.

I have had it in my mind to write you on the great topics in which we both feel so deep an interest. I hope to be able to do so soon. I read with great satisfaction the eloquent appeal of your State Committee to the People of Massachusetts. We have given a response not wholly unfit, I trust, by our State Platform.

With the truest regard, Faithfully your friend,

To Charles Sumner

CINCINNATI, *February 19, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: It always gives me a great deal of pleasure to hear from you; but I was more than gratified by your last letter. I thought I saw in it an augury of approaching union, among the true and earnest lovers of freedom of all parties—a union which every patriot and philanthropist cannot but earnestly desire. For myself, I care not under what banner the rally may be, so that the banner bear blazing on its folds the inscription of Freedom; nor shall I think it of much moment by whom it may be borne, so he be, at all events, a true hearted champion of the Right. How strange it is that such an union has not already been formed—was not long since formed! How it is possible that such facts as those stated by Mr. Palfrey in his Speech—and he gave only a few by way of sample—not at all treating the monstrous bulk—can have been known to Northern men and non-slaveholders, and yet stirred up no fever of indignation, I cannot understand. Unless indeed I adopt the humorous solution of your downeast poet, Hosea Biglow, who says in one of his inimitable lyrics;

We begin to think its nater,
To take sarse and not be riled,
Who'd expect to see a 'inter,
All on cend at bein' biled?

Your overtrue description of the fate of honest anti-slavery men in the Whig Party, devoted to private assault and assassination—suspected, slandered, and traduced applies just as strongly to the antislavery democrats. I believe it was Euripides who said—as Milton translates him:

There can be slain
No sacrifice, to the Gods more acceptable
Than an unjust and wicked king.

The converse of this is certainly true. There can be no more acceptable sacrifice to unjust power—the unscrupulous slave power—than the immolation of an earnest & *defiant*^a friend of Freedom and the Right. And I have heard democrats complain [of *efforts*^a] made to ruin them in public esteem, and cut them off from all hopes of political advancement, with an emphasis not less strong than your own. But what remedy for such grievances, except by independent action? How can we expect that the people will sustain us, or that demagogues and serviles will fail to combine against us, defaming our characters, impairing our influence, depriving us opposition, and, what is greatly worse, thwarting our best purposes, unless we give them to understand that we can get along without them, if they choose to get along without us—that our principles are as dear to us as the loaves and fishes of office are dear to them? Once let it be understood by politicians, that no candidate for office can receive the suffrages of antislavery men, who does not, in some reasonable sense, represent antislavery principles, and parties will not dare to fly in the face of antislavery sentiment as they do at present. What a figure the Radical Democracy of New York will cut, if after resolving and resolving upon the absolute necessity of adherence to the Proviso under all circumstances, they should, after all, go into the Baltimore Convention next May and acquiesce in the nomination of Cass or Buchanan or any such man? What a figure will Antislavery Whigs cut in acquiescing in the nomination of Taylor, or Clay, or any other slaveholder, who gives no clear and unequivocal evidence, that he cherishes any antislavery sentiments?

I have thought much of the best means of concentrating antislavery effort. I confess I have not yet seen any clear line of action. The most eligible I have thought is to assemble in National Convention, in June next, say at Pittsburgh, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the country, and adopting such practical measures as may be then judged most expedient. My own judgment inclines to the opinion—strongly inclines to it—that should the Whigs nominate a candidate for the Presidency who

^a Conjectural. Torn in MS.

will take decided ground against the extension of slavery into territories hereafter acquired, such a Convention should give such a candidate its support. The same measure should be applied to the Democratic nomination. Should both parties nominate men, not to be depended on for such opposition to slavery extension, then such a Convention should nominate a candidate of its own.

I have no expectation whatever that General Taylor will take any decided ground upon any question. He will certainly take no ground - unless he changes all his habits of thought, all his sentiments, and all his prejudices against the extension of slavery. General Taylor is very strong in the South. I was at St. Louis and at Louisville a few weeks since, and had an opportunity of learning something of the feeling of the western southwestern slave States in relation to him. He will sweep them if a candidate like a tornado. But I am not able to see any convincing indications of his strength in the North and Northwest. I see rather signs which satisfy me that if he receives the nomination of the Whigs, it must be because the Whigs of the North and Northwest sacrifice their interests, their honors and their duties, to the ambition of party success. As to Mr. Clay, he might properly receive the support of antislavery men if he would come out unequivocally against the extension of slavery, and in favor of a Convention and some reasonable plan of emancipation in Kentucky. I have no faith, however, that he will do this, though I do not deem it quite impossible.

You say "if Judge M'Lean could be induced to take any practical ground against the extension of slavery he would be a popular candidate". You may recollect something of a letter from Columbus last fall which appeared in the Era. That letter contained a statement of Judge M'Lean's position as understood by the writer, and it was this, that the Wilmot Proviso, as to all territories in which slavery does not exist at the time of acquisition, is in the Constitution already. A resolution of Congress may declare the principle and legislation by Congress may *enforce* its application; but neither resolution nor legislation is needed to establish the principle. It is in the Constitution. The paragraph of

this letter containing this statement was shown to Judge M'Lean and *approved by him*. I had a conversation with Corwin^a and I regretted to find that he did not sympathize with or concur in these views. So far as I could discover he had no definite, considered principle or opinions on the subject. He thought it best to avoid the question, by opposing territorial acquisition, but if it must come, then secure freedom by legislation.

Under all circumstances I cannot but think Judge M'Lean to be all together the most reliable man, on the slavery question, now prominent in either party. It is true he does not fully agree with those who are generally known as anti-slavery men. But on the question of extension of slavery he is with us, not only on the question of its impolicy and its criminality, but also because he believed such extension would be a clear infraction of the Constitution. Add to this the constant and familiar association with antislavery folks in his family and among his friends, and his known aversion to slavery itself—an aversion so strong that when he quitted Washington, although in debt, and comparatively poor, he emancipated his slaves, when sale would have produced the means of discharging all his obligations. I regret very much the decision of Judge M'Lean in the Vanzandt case and believe he fell into great error; still on the pressing issue—the extension of slavery, he is wholly with us, and in general sentiment on slavery questions, nearer to us than any other statesman of either of the two old parties. He is not against the Proviso—on the contrary he is in favor of it. He thinks it however is inexpedient to weaken the strength of the Constitutional position against slavery, by introducing a specific measure of legislation against it, under present circumstances, when its defeat in the legislature or its veto by the Executive is certain, and such defeat, in the general opinion, would take away every obstacle from the introduction of slavery into new territories.

I understand from Mr. Vaughan, that the Boston Whig has given a different statement of Judge M'Lean's position, from the one I have just set before you. You may depend, however, on the fact that mine is correct; and I leave you

^aFirst part of name torn out of MS. From the final syllable, *win*, Corwin is conjectured.

to judge whether I am wrong in thinking that the nomination of M'Lean by the Whig Convention would be the most substantial triumph of antislavery which has been achieved this century.

I thank you for your offer to circulate a few copies of the Vanzandt argument in Westminster Hall. I send you a dozen for that purpose. I read your address on Fame and Glory with very great pleasure.

Forgive this long letter, and believe me, Faithfully your friend,

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, Mar. 25th, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: With this I send you our call, the letter inviting signatures being signed by men of all parties—most Whigs. Would not a similar movement in old Massachusetts be better than manful resolves and inert action? I hear that a call for a Free Soil Convention (National) may be expected from Washington, from members of Congress of all parties. May God so dispose their minds. The 4th of July would be a glorious day for the assemblage of such a Convention.

I have had much conversation with Judge M'Lean since I returned from Washington. If the Whigs will not nominate him, all will be well. He is emphatically right on the Free Territory Question, nearer right than any so prominent man of the old parties I know, on many others; and right on principle and not from impulses.

I will be glad to hear from you soon.

Very truly yours,

Did I send you those copies of the Vanzandt argument? I have actually forgotten.

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, June 5th 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: A long time has slipped by since I had the pleasure of hearing from you. I hope you have not erased my name from your list of correspondents.

I send you an article of mine, which I think states some important facts which ought to be much more generally known than they are. If you agree with me in thinking its statements important, will you take the trouble to get a place for it in the Boston Whig, with such a notice of it as will attract particular attention to them.

Our Independent State Convention will we expect be largely attended. Should the Whigs nominate Taylor or Scott we shall have probably a preponderance of Whigs, but should they nominate any other free state Candidate, not a military man, the majority will probably be democrats. I think the Country would go unanimously for M'Lean, but unanimously, for no other man.

The action of the New York Democracy is manful and noble. I hope for much good from it.

Very truly your friend,

To Hon. Sam^l. E. Sewall.^a

MAY 27, [1848.]

Wrote him "Boston" I rec^d. yesterday y^r. favor of the 20th inst, advising me that the Committee on the case of the Washington Prisoners have selected me as one of their counsel. Please say to the Committee that my services are cordially, at their disposal: but I can recieve no fee in a case of this kind. The prisoners at Washington are hardly more interested than are their fellow citizens at large in the great question which must govern the determination of their case. I have for some years, entertained a clear opinion that slavery in the district of Columbia is unconstitutional—a manifest violation of the letter & spirit of that instrument—No man can hold another as his slave in District, with any better warrant of law, than in Massachusetts. Other considerations make this case one of peculiar interest to me. My first anti-slavery impressions were received in the District of Columbia. It happened to me to be concerned, though then a youth, in drawing up the celebrated petition

^a From letter-book 6, pp. 139. Samuel E. Sewall, 1799-1888, a lawyer in Boston; was one of the founders of the New England Anti-Slavery Society and a generous supporter of "The Liberator" in its early days.

for District Emancipation presented to Congress in 1828. I was first admitted to the bar, in the very Court in which the Prisoners are to be tried, & by the venerable Judge who now presides there. Thus the principles involved, the nature of the case, the place of trial, the court all concur in persuading me to accept, as I do, your invitation to render what aid I may not more to the prisoner than to the sacred cause of Constitutional Liberty, in conjunction with the distinguished gentlemen, with whom your choice associates me

With great respect & regard,

*To John P. Hale,**

JUNE 15, [1848.]

MY DEAR SIR: I have rec^d. several letters from you lately for which I feel greatly obliged to you. I can appreciate Mrs. Hales unwillingness to trust you out here in the west: for if we once get you among us you will find it very difficult to get away. Still I hope that you will come & bring her with you also. Mrs. Chase, whose grandfather was one of the original proprietors of Cincinnati & who herself was born in Missouri, & has never been east of Columbus, will be very glad to make proof to her of the qualities of western hospitality.

In reference to Slavery in the District of Columbia I have made up my mind after being somewhat troubled, in a legal way, with the difficulty you refer to. I found it impossible to resist the conviction that the general rule that the laws of ceded or conquered territories remain in force after coercion or conquest must be qualified with the limitation that such laws be not incompatible with the fundamental law or policy of the acquiring state, in other words, that such laws be not such as the legislature of the acquiring state is itself incompetent to enact. I send herewith an article of mine on the subject which states my views with tolerable clearness.

* Letter-book 6, pp. 89. John Parker Hale, 1806-1873, member of Congress from New Hampshire 1843-1845; United States Senator 1847-1853; candidate for President of the Free-soil Party 1852; United States Senator 1855-1863; minister to Spain 1865-1869. In connection with the contents of this letter see Hart's Chase, 94ff.

The signs of the times seem to me auspicious. The N. Y. Democracy will certainly remain firm. We had a tremendous gathering of the people here last night in opposition to the nominations of Cass & Taylor old & tried whigs & young & enthusiastic Whigs & firm & consistent democrats, with Liberty men took part in the proceedings. If a popular candidate with any fair prospect of success could be brought out on the Free Territory platform we would have a fair chance of carrying Ohio.

I rec^d. a letter to day from Mr. Hamlin of Cleveland, who says that nineteen out of twenty of the Whigs of Cuyahoga refuse to support the nomination. Our meeting last night sent a delegate to the Utica convention & we shall endeavor to cooperate with the New Yorkers. I shall never cease to regret that the Liberty Convention at Buffalo last fall nominated when it did, or that you deemed it your duty to accept the nomination. I remonstrated ag^t it in the Convention & out of it, for I thought I could foresee something of what has actually taken place, & I wished you to go into the senate as an Independent Democratic Senator, occupying very nearly the same relation to the Democratic Party, on the Antislavery side of it, as Calhoun on the proslavery side. I felt certain that in that event the growing opposition to slavery would naturally find its exponent in you and that antislavery men of all parties, in case both parties should prove false to freedom would concentrate public sentiment to nominate a non slave holder favorable to Anti Slavery principles: but I wanted to be prepared for the contingency which has actually occurred. Your nomination by the Liberty Party, although in y^r. letter of acceptance you stated very frankly your real position, has identified you with us & compelled you to share the undeserved opprobrium, which has attached to many of the noblest names of the land, & which, I fear, may not be dispelled until death shall remove all inducements to Slander. It is very true that your senatorial career has attracted the general admiration of all true hearted [patriots] men, and, I verily believe, that if N. Y. democracy would now place you in nomination all objections would disappear and this state could be carried for you.

But they are afraid to do so, on account of the advantage which would be taken of this movement by the Hunkers, advantages which could not be taken had you not rec^d. the Liberty nomination. Perhaps I am wrong in my estimate of the influence which the fact of y^r. nomination, as our Candidate will have upon the action (of) Free Territory men coming from other parties. I shall be very glad if they will meet in General Convention and nominate you. I hope at all events they will meet in General Convention, and agree if possible. But suppose they meet. Suppose the N. Y. democracy, about to assemble at Utica, calls a National Convention of all who are willing to go into the Battle for Free Territory under the Democratic Banner: what then? Would it not be expedient for you to write a letter to Mr. Lewis the President of the State Liberty Convention, state your original position as a Democrat that fidelity to your democratic faith compelled you to assume, with your Democratic friends in New Hampshire the position now occupied so gloriously by the New York Democracy, that you desire most earnestly the union of Freemen for the sake of Freedom, withdraw your name & urge those who put you in nomination to attend the convention there called & govern their action by its decisions? Then if that convention should nominate you all will be well; if not, you will be still in the Senate, where you can do good service to the cause and await events,—and after the adjournment, by your eloquence before the people, [you will] be a most important auxiliary in the near at hand campaign:

Our Free Territory Convention will, I think, nominate an electoral ticket to support the nominees of the Convention called under the auspices of the New York Democracy, if such a convention be called—otherwise to vote for you. I shall send you a paper containing last night's proceedings.

I have conversed with Mr. Lewis this afternoon. He has had an interview with Judge King who is very anxious for such an union as I mention. I have also a letter from him to the same effect, which I send herewith for your perusal asking you to return it. You observed I suppose, Judge K's name among the signers to our Free Territory call.

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, *June 20, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for the few words of cheer you sent me on the 12th. I rejoice greatly that Massachusetts is moving. But you will need firmness and courage Taylorism is furious, and would crush all dissent if it had the power. ——— "a few Independent Whigs met together to express their dissent from the nominations were fairly yelled out of their room of meeting. At Cincinnati drunken Taylorites from Kentucky tried their best to break up our meeting, and failed only because the mass was so large that they could not move it. Taylorism is conscious of treason to the Free States, and those who have bowed the knee are enraged at the prospect of losing their reward. But I verily believe that the tocsin which is now gathering the Freemen of the North to the battle of Liberty, rings also the knell of Slavery.

Our Convention has just commenced its session. A large delegation from almost every Congressional District is in attendance. Great enthusiasm and fixedness of purpose are manifested. The delegates from the Reserve say that if a suitable free State candidate is named, the Reserve will give him 13,000 majority over Cass or Taylor and will try hard to roll it up to twenty thousand.

I have no knowledge of Judge M'Lean's position. I hardly think he will feel at liberty to accept an Independent Nomination, having suffered his name to go before the Whig Convention. But he may. He is now at Detroit, but will return to Cincinnati soon.

I suppose the New York Democracy will nominate candidates of their own; but possibly they may yield to the representations which have been made to them and invite a General Conference or Convention.

As things stand I think our Convention will nominate an electoral ticket, and invite a National Convention to assemble at Buffalo, say on the 1st of August. By that time we shall know who are for us and who are against us, and be prepared for advised (?) nominations. For myself I am

well content with Hale and content also to take any fit man who will represent our views and concentrate a larger suffrage, if any care for Freedom, Free Territories, and Free Labor.

Corwin, as I feared he would, has bent the knee and received the yoke and goes for Taylor.

Yours faithfully,

I will advise by letter to Boston tomorrow of the further action of our Convention. I hope Massachusetts will be well represented at Buffalo.

To Seabury Ford,^a Burton, Geauga County.

JULY 11 [48].

DEAR SIR: You are well aware that in political action & opinion I have differed widely from you; but I have given you the same credit for sincerity of conviction & honesty of purpose which I desire for myself. There is a question on which we do agree - or rather one class of questions. I refer to those connected with slavery. I am sure that you are sincerely opposed to slavery and to its domination and extension & to the injustice of the Black Laws. On the ground of this agreement between us, I desire to support you for the office of Governor: laying out of view for the present three questions on which we differ. There are thousands who share this desire with me. But y^r. present anomalous position in regard to Gen^l. Taylor, if nominated will *compel* us not only merely to withhold our suffrages from you: but to nominate a Candidate who not only agrees with us in opposition to Slavery & its Extension, but also in opposition to candidates nominated under the dictation of the friends of Slavery & its extension. Such a candidate we believe Gen^l. Taylor to be, and cannot consent to give our suffrages for any Gentⁿ., however worthy in other respects, who does not take a distinct position in opposition to his election to the Presidency.

^a From letter-book 6, pp. 149. Seabury Ford, 1801-1855; elected governor of Ohio in 1848 and served 1849-50.

Should you come out in opposition to Gen^l. Taylor as thousands of the truest whigs in the State have done, you will receive a more enthusiastic support I believe, than any candidate for the Gubernatorial office has ever rec^d. in Ohio, and I shall be greatly disappointed if you be not triumphantly elected. If you come out for Taylor, you will rec^e. the support of hardly any except Taylor men. If you preserve a neutral position you will lose votes from both sides, and cannot in my judgment, be elected. It seems to me that the path of duty coincides with the path of safety.

I trust you will pardon my frankness, I am really desirous to know your position. I am even more desirous that you may take a position which will warrant me in giving you a cordial and zealous support.

If you have prescribed no rule of conduct to yourself which forbids an answer to a communication like this, I shall be greatly indebted to you for a reply, directed to Columbus, where I shall be next week in attendance on the Circuit Court. You may rest assured that no use shall be made of it, other than such as you may yourself permit.

To Eli Nichols,^a Walthonding, Coshocton County.

CIN^{TI}. Nov^r. 9 [1848.]

MY DEAR SIR, I rec^d. yrs of the 6th to day, & as I shall be obliged to leave the city to attend the Circuit Court at Columbus on M'day next & shall be much engaged in the meantime I an^r it at once. In regard to State Policy, which the Free Democracy should adopt, I think it of great importance that it should be, in the first place, truly Democratic and, in the second, well considered & generally approved by our friends. Neither your views nor mine may be fully met, yet if the general principles of the policy adopted be sound, I do not doubt that we shall both be satisfied, approximation to particular opinions is all that can be expected in the details of a general plan. I agree

^aFrom letter-book 6, pp. 160. Eli Nichols was a worker for Chase in the Ohio Senatorial election, which resulted, after a contest of nearly three months, in Chase's election, Feb. 22, 1849. See Hart's Chase, 103-112, and T. C. Smith's History of the Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 160-175.

that the advantages of a paper currency, securely based upon & promptly convertible into specie, are such that there is no reasonable probability that its use will be dispensed with. The great problem then is to make it safe and deliver it from the monopolizing control of corporations & favored individuals. I am wedded to no particular plan. Let us have the most efficient. The most prominent objection likely to be made to yrs., is that it makes the Government of the State a Banker. I have been accustomed, myself, greatly to distrust Government Banking: but I have neither time nor place to state my reasons now. When we meet at Columbus we will talk the matter over.

I am much obliged to Governor Shannon for his kind opinion of me, & cordially reciprocate his good will. I think, however, the times require,—and such I am assured is the opinion of the friends of our movement in our own & other states,—in the Senate of the United States, from Ohio, a man, who thoroughly understands & will steadfastly maintain the whole platform of the Free Democracy. I do not know but Governor Shannon is such a man. If so, I shall witness his elevation to any station which the Legislature or the People may confer upon him, with unfeigned pleasure. For myself, I have no aspirations for the office of Supreme Judge. I have devoted eight of the best years of my life to one great object—the overthrow of the Slave power and slavery by Constitutional Action: and I desire no position in which I cannot efficiently promote this leading purpose. On the bench I could do little for it:—not so much, I think, as I can in my present position.

Nor do I desire to be considered as a *candidate* for any other place. Some of our friends have been pleased to think I can be of use to our cause in the Senate: and men of other parties have said that, in the contingency that their strength in the Legislature shall prove insufficient to elect a candidate of their own, they will be satisfied with my election to that body. I am not weak enough to found any serious expectations or aspirations upon these views and expressions. I look upon the election of myself or any other Free Soiler as a contingent possibility—nothing more.

I trust that the Representatives of the Free Democracy in

the General assembly, will act when they meet at Columbus, with the patriotic wisdom & independent firmness which the crisis will require. Upon all the questions which they will be called upon to decide, as virtual arbiters, between the other parties, I hope they will manifest strict impartiality, and decide then, without bias, as their own conscientious convictions demand. In selecting their own candidates, for whatever public stations, they should inquire not "Whence is he?"—nor "With what party, did he act?" but "Will he, if elected, promote most efficiently the interests of our cause?" and "For whom can the suffrages of our fellow members be most certainly obtained?" It would be affectation in me to say, that I should not be highly gratified if the choice of the Free Soil members in the Legislature should fall on me, and that choice should be approved by a majority of their fellow members:—for I do believe that I understand the history, principles & practical workings of the Free Soil movement as thoroughly as most men, & nobody, I presume, will question my fidelity to it. If, however, that choice made on those principles should fall on another than myself—upon Giddings, Root, Swan, Hitchcock, Brinkerhoff, or any other of those true-hearted & able men who have so nobly sustained our cause during the recent struggle—no man will be more prompt than I to concur cordially in it or more desirous than I to see it confirmed by the Legislature. What I wish to have understood is this,—I do not *seek* any office:—much less do I *claim* any. I do not even *desire* any, however elevated or honorable, in which, while discharging faithfully its general duties, I cannot efficiently promote the cause of Free Democracy:—but should our friends have the power & feel the disposition to place me in a position, in which, while so discharging its duties, I can so serve our cause, the reproach of "sinister motives"—the cheap missile of malignant detraction—would have as little influence in deterring me from accepting it, as similar attacks have had on my past action against slavery. No man, I trust, is more sensitive to just blame than I:—few I am sure are more indifferent to censure felt to be undeserved.

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, November 27, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: Thanks for your welcome and cheering letter. It is truly grateful to me to feel how responsive to each other are our judgments and sympathies. Our struggle is ended—only for the present, I would say rather, it is just begun, did not the recollections of eight years of effort, amid difficulties and discouragement far formidable than any which now encompass us, carry me back to a much earlier date of the beginning of the Contest than many assign. The Buffalo Convention of 1848, and the movements which immediately issued in that, I would call the beginning of the end. I think that now, through the twilight of the present and the mist of the future, the end may be discovered—at least by eyes annointed with faith.

You have fought a glorious battle in old Massachusetts. Young Wisconsin, alone, can claim equal honors with you. You have had to contend with long-seated prejudices arrayed against our Presidential nominee and against the overbearing money power of the Lords of the Loom. Under the circumstances, you have, I suppose, equalled if not exceeded your own most sanguine expectations. We are looking now, with great anxiety for the result of the second trial in the District of Judge Allen and our noble Palfrey. Most earnestly do I hope that Massachusetts will honor herself by sending those true sons to represent her in the next Congress. She and Liberty will need them there.

Here in Ohio we did not do near so well as we expected not near so well as we should have done had the vote been taken immediately after the Buffalo Convention. Many causes conspired to diminish our vote. The principal were the general impression, that the contest was between Taylor and Cass, and the idea, unceasingly disseminated, that General Taylor would not veto, would, in fact, favor the Wilmot Proviso. No man labored harder to produce these impressions than Mr. Corwin. He traversed the whole state, speaking to large assemblies and to small, at the principal points and obscure villages, saying everywhere, “*I know Gen. Taylor will not veto the Proviso*”, and endeavoring to

convince the people, by his stories of Gen. Taylor's action in reference to the Seminole negroes, that he was, in fact, a man of antislavery opinions and sympathies. Whether he succeeded in convincing himself I don't know; but certain it is that he exerted a mighty influence in checking the development of anti-Taylor sentiment, and in persuading many who had resolved to oppose the Philadelphia nomination, to come out in favor of it. All this operated against us in two ways. While Mr. Corwin succeeded in detaching two or three votes here and two or three there from the Free Soil Cause, securing them for Taylor, the very fact of the defection of these votes induced more or less of those who had resolved to withhold their votes from Cass and give them to Van Buren, to forego their determination and to fall back into their old ranks. This process, placing us between the upper and the nether millstone and diminishing our force by every turn of the wheel, was carried on very actively for several weeks preceding the election; and though we did all we could to counterwork it, yet, being scattered over a large territory with hardly any pecuniary resources and a very imperfect organization and little or no mutual concert or cooperation among our Committees or speeches, all our efforts did not avail much. The battle is now over and Senator Corwin and his co-workers have the satisfaction of having quietly reduced the Free Soil vote, without any other result than that, (which the Free Soilers have predicted ever since the nomination of Taylor), of giving the electoral suffrage of Ohio to General Cass. Whether Senator Corwin has shared in the impression he has endeavored to make upon the people I do not know. One thing is certain; he has lost entirely the confidence of the sincere and earnest antislavery men of the State. The very men, who eight months ago were his warmest friends---in fact his only reliable and fast friends in the State---are now converted into his most decided and stern opposers. They still admire his talents and esteem his social qualities, but they no longer respect his principles.

The results of the contest leave us here in Ohio, in a peculiar position. The election of Taylor makes his supporters anxious that their promises to the people in his

behalf shall be, in some degree, kept. Should he veto the Wilmot Proviso or conduct his administration so as to indicate disfavor to it, we may look for another revolt among the Whigs. On the other hand the defeat of Cass has secured the last link that bound a large number of Democrats—in fact a great body of them in this State to the Slave Power. They have no longer any bond of union in their old organization. The spoils are gone and the South is gone. Under these circumstances many of them are turning a wistful eye toward the Buffalo Platform, and I should not be greatly surprised if the coming winter should witness a union between the old Democracy and the Free Democracy in our Legislature upon the principles of our Platform. Already such a union is foreshadowed by the tone of the newspapers, and the course of events in the northern part of the State. Should it take place in any considerable section of the State it must pervade the whole. In the Legislature the Free Democrats together have the majority; and they may unite in the election of a senator; though this is more doubtful than their union in future contests. Whether this union takes place or not and it can only take place through the adhesion of the old Democracy to one principle—the course of the Free Democracy it seems to me lies clear before them. Their path, no less of safety than of honor is straightforward. They have no choice, except shameful dereliction of principle, or bold and resolute perseverance.

This is true of every other State as it is of Ohio; and I am glad to see that the choice of our friends everywhere seems to be already made. Nowhere do I observe any indications of wavering or retreat.

I agree with you that it is of great importance that an address should be issued to the People of the union embracing the topics and indicating our future course as suggested by you. It will be difficult to get any delegation appointed by the State Committee to prepare such an address. It seems to me that your suggestion that it should be issued by the Free Democrats in Congress is a good one; or possibly, it might come, with as much effect, from the Free Soil association of the District of Columbia, having been prepared with the advice and concurrence of our friends in

Congress and out of Congress who may be gathered in Washington at the commencement of the session.

Our own State Convention will be held on the 29th, June, when we shall doubtless issue an address to the People of Ohio, and define our position on questions of State policy.

I shall be very glad to hear from you frequently. Our former correspondence and your published writings had taught me greatly to esteem you; and our limited intercourse last August was sufficient to make me feel towards you the strongest sentiments of friendship. Is it not Cicero who tells us that the strong ligament of friendship is "*idem velle et idem nolle*"? And is not this the tie between us! At any rate I claim your friendship by this title and shall hope that you will manifest your allowance of the claim, by writing me as often as your engagements will allow.

Faithfully and cordially yours,

To E. S. Hamlin,^a Columbus, Ohio.

CINCINNATI, *January 16, 1848 [1849].*

MY DEAR HAMLIN: I have had my supper,—I have donned my dressing gown & slippers;—my wife is beside me in our snug dining room;—everything is comfortable around me;—and I am writing to a friend in whom I repose full confidence. At this moment I cannot find it in my heart to indulge a single unkindly or uncharitable thought toward any human being. To be sure, I do feel as if a certain individual, who rejoices in the initials *S. P. C.*, might be a good deal better employed, than in political navigation; and sometimes find it difficult to suppress a rising sentiment of indignation against him, when I think of his preposterous folly in venturing to have opinions of his own, & even, what is scarcely credible, daring occasionally to act upon them. But with the exception of the slight disturbance occasioned by the conduct of this individual the current of my thoughts flows quite smoothly tonight. I wish you were here to sit down & chat with me. How pleasantly we might contrive to dispose of an hour or two!

But I can easily imagine your actual situation,—not half

so pleasant as mine—sitting in the Standard office, at the long pine² table, scribbling some Editorial for the paper perhaps a defence of Townshend & Morse,—perhaps a gentle hint to our amiable friend Chaffee. Well, I am sorry for you. If wishes could “execute themselves” as the rascally slaveholders who preside in the Supreme Court of the United States say of the fugitive clause in the Constitution you should have a nice large cushioned leather library chair, with the easiest flowing gold pen, and the blackest ink and the finest blue wove paper, a bright fire, a warm carpet, and all the etceteras which could make an editorial sanctum attractive and delightful. Then you should have a plentiful income coming in like the tides into the Bay of Fundy, and a long, long list of faithful paying subscribers, constituting a congregation that the Pope and every editor, you know *is* an infallible Pope might be proud to preach to. But I can almost fancy you exclaiming “Stop! Stop! What *is* the fellow after? Does he want to drive me to suicide by reminding me so ruthlessly of the vast difference between the ideal & the actual?” and so I will stop; for I want no such responsibility on my shoulders or conscience.

I suppose you see the True Democrat regularly, and of course, have noticed the course of Briggs towards Townshend, Morse & myself. The object seems to me plain enough. If he can cut Townshend & myself down, & terrify Morse into unhesitating acquiescence into the decisions of the Whig Freesoil Caucus the course will be left clear, he thinks, for the unchecked sway of Free Soilism of the Whig stamp. But I think he must fail in his reckoning. He cannot, I believe, hurt Townshend or myself, nor do I imagine that his threats or menacing intimations will have much effect on Morse. I feel, however, a good deal of solicitude to know whether Mr. Morse maintains his independent position. I shall be much disappointed if he does not. To recede now would be worse than never to have taken it. How is it with our good friend, Mr. Van Doren? Is he regarded now as an Independent Free Soiler or a Whig Free Soiler?

² Edward S. Hamlin was a member of Congress from Ohio, 1844-45. He was an ardent worker for Chase, and at this time was the editor of an anti-slavery paper at Columbus, the Ohio Standard.

I do wish that the Free Soilers in the Legislature could unite on the only practical basis of union. That is let the Democratic Free Soilers, & the Whig Free Soilers, and the Independent Free Soilers (which terms I use for distinction's sake only) meet together and confer freely on the course best to be pursued in every case of importance. At these meetings let mutual and perfect toleration be exercised by each towards all the rest, and let everything which is done or spoken be under the seal of the most sacred confidence. If they can after a comparison of views find a ground on which all can stand honestly & in good faith, let them take it and maintain it no matter who may be benefitted or injured by it. If they cannot find such a ground but, after the best efforts to reach it have failed, they find themselves, in consequence of honest convictions, influenced or not influenced by former party associations, unable to agree let each take his own course, with perfect respect for the others and with fixed determination not to ascribe or even indulge the supposition of improper motives. Of course such conferences of Free Soilers should allow the attendance of none, however antislavery or personally worthy, except those who adopt, in good faith, & without reservation, the National & State Platforms of Free Democracy, and have fully made up their minds and openly avowed their determination to act permanently in & with the Party organized upon them. I can think of no way so well calculated to prevent discord and secure a mutual good understanding as this. I do not know whether even this way is practicable.

I have this moment, (Tuesday 12 M) rec^d. your letter and thank you for it. Vaughan has written a reply to Briggs for the Cleveland True Democrat. It does not put the action of Morse & Townshend on the true ground precisely but I think it will do good. It does more than justice to me. Vaughan I am glad to find, agrees with us as to the *prima facie* right of Pugh & Peirce and thinks the division clauses should be repealed. I do not think he has considered the question as to the unconstitutionality of the law. I am glad Riddle proposes to introduce a bill to repeal the clauses. It is the right thing to do at this time, and he is

the right man to do it. It will reflect credit on him, and do much service to Townshend & Morse. I regretted to see Beaver's remark that the division clauses of the apportionment law w^d not be repealed while the First district remains disfranchised. This will do no good. The true question is, "Is the repeal right?" If it is, it can't be done too soon. I would write to Randall, but I did write to him a few days since, on the subject of the Governor's Return, as friendly a letter as I could & took great pains here & with friends elsewhere to set his action in that matter in the most favorable point of view. But I have heard nothing from him, & don't wish to seem to force a correspondence on him. Suppose you find out, as you easily can, why he don't write?

It seems to me that you must come out in defence of Townshend & Morse; and I am not sure that justice does not require a frank statement of the whole action in Columbus, resulting in the virtual expulsion from the caucus of all the Democratic & Independent Free Soilers.

I have no time to write further without losing the mail. I am very glad your cough is better.

To E. S. Hamlin, Columbus, Ohio.

CINCINNATI, *January 17, 1848* [1849?]

MY DEAR HAMLIN: I wrote you yesterday a few words in reply to yours of the 13th.

Vaughan has written to Briggs. He takes up my defence quite in earnest and very generously. You will see Matthews defence of Morse & Townshend in the *Globe*, made upon my suggestion. The *Era* of this week will I expect contain another. While I am thus active in having these gentlemen defended, it does seem to me that a little might be done in the same way for me. But, perhaps, it is thought silence is my best defence, and that my character will take care of itself. Perhaps this idea is correct; but, I confess, it galls me a little to see such insinuations as that of Briggs & others on the Reserve, go without any antidote whatever.

I do not know what to say in reference to the paper. I do not think it advisable for you to leave until after the

Senatorial Election, unless you have given up all expectation of such an issue of that as we have desired; and, with my limited means of information I see no reason as yet to despond. It strikes me that, if the printing of the House cannot be secured, the most advisable course would be for Mr. Garrard to borrow enough to carry on the paper till spring, when you could go out and raise means, with what aid I and others could give, to pay off the debt and make everything straight. Just at present I am in the most awkward position possible to act for the paper. After the Senatorial Election, whether the choice falls on me or another, I can act more efficiently, and you may rely on me, in every event, to the extent of my ability.

I will ascertain the state of things with the Cincinnati Globe and let you know. I should be delighted to have you here, but do not see how you could be spared from Columbus. Perhaps however we could find some one to fill that post, and you could be there in the winter: especially if you can be elected to the Pres. of the B^d of P. W.

I am not certain that Whitman occupies the attitude you think he does. Would it not be well for you to call on him, and ascertain his views. He will, I am confident, meet you frankly and fairly.

How do Beaver, Johnson, Lee & Chaffee feel towards me now? They were very savage after the election of Speaker; and, perhaps, they had some reason in as much as they had no warning of the purpose of Col. Morse & Dr. Townshend to vote for Breslin, and supposed I was instrumental in keeping that purpose from them. They were quite mistaken in this. I approved the intention of Messrs. M. & Townshend, because I thought it was the only way to save the Free Democracy from identification with Whigism, but I never thought of making any secret of it. Had they held such a conference as I proposed, eschewing dictation and yet using perfect frankness one towards another, the whole matter would doubtless have been explained by the gentlemen concerned. Had Mr. Beaver, or Mr. Chaffee, or Mr. Johnson or Mr. Lee chanced to call on me after I became apprized of the intention of Messrs. T. & M. to vote as they did, I should, most probably, have mentioned it to them.

But it so happened that I was just then, the Court in Bane being about to adjourn engaged night & day upon my arguments, and did not go over to the State House or to the Capitol House for some days. So far as I was concerned, therefore, the non-communication to them of the intention of Messrs. M. & T. was entirely accidental. So far as those gentlemen were concerned, I think they will admit, if they will candidly & generously review all that occurred, that their own course towards them had not been such as to invite the most entire freedom of communication.

I am looking anxiously for the introduction of the bill to repeal the Hum. Co. division clauses of the apportionment law. I hope M^r. Riddle will introduce it; and the sooner it is done the better. It is very plain to me that the Free Democracy will never espouse the Whig side of this controversy.

What has become of the bill to establish Separate Schools for Col^d persons, &c., which Morse was to introduce? I hope you will give some attention to this. It is really important, and if it can be got through with the help of Democratic votes, will do a great deal of good to the cause generally & our friend Morse especially. I am glad to hear that he stands firm. I think he need not be afraid but that the people will stand by him. It is evident to my mind that before the Legislature rises the Freesoilers in it will be compelled to take his ground, or give up their claims to the title altogether.

Ask D^r. Townshend & M^r. Morse why they don't write to me. I am very desirous to hear from them. Do write me as often as you can, and believe me,

Please hand the enclosed to Stanley Matthews forthwith.

P. S. Has anything been done to secure the cooperation of the democrats in returning a Free Soiler of the right stamp from Clinton? This could certainly be done, if proper exertions were made, and you cannot fail to see its great importance. Nichols intended to go down, but writes me that he has not done so. If you think best, however, I do not doubt that he will go. Had you not better see him. Vaughan will go, if it is desired; or possibly you might

kill two birds with one stone by going yourself & presenting also the claims of the paper. I have written to Thos. Hibben of Wilmington & enclosed a Standard Prospectus &c.

To E. S. Hamlin.

CINCINNATI, *January 19, 1848* [1849]

MY DEAR HAMLIN: Thanks for your two letters, both which I rec^d. today. If you can contrive to let me have future letters mailed on the day you write, so much the better.

Vaughan will go to Clinton on Monday. The Democrats at Columbus ought to use their influence with the Clinton People to unite on a true Free Democrat. If they do not, but persist in encouraging Trimble to run, I fear Vaughan's mission will prove unavailing. If anything occurs at Columbus, important to be known by him in Clinton, a letter directed to me, & reaching me on Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday, can be forwarded to him on Wednesday, Friday & Monday. But, perhaps, the communication direct from Columbus to Wilmington may be more prompt.

I am glad to hear of your meeting with Dimmock & others. I suppose good must come of it. I hope Moses bill will be made to go along with the bill to repeal the division clauses of the apportionment law. Let the Black Laws & those clauses perish together. They will be fit tenants of a common sepulchre.

As to the Standard, it must not be suffered to stop. Its failure will injure the cause immensely, as well as be extremely injurious to Garrard & yourself, having rec^d. advance subscriptions for a year. I would cheerfully advance further myself if I were able, but I am not; and it would be unjust to me, after I have subscribed \$200 to allow the paper to stop without exhausting every effort to induce the Free Soilers of the State to come forward to its support. I have paid today \$100, being the note for the first instalment of my subscription. I cannot think that Mr. Garrard will hesitate to use his credit to the extent necessary to carry the paper beyond the elections in the Legislature, when you will be disengaged and I shall be able to cooperate efficiently

with you. Every letter I send out now contains an appeal & is accompanied by a prospectus for the Standard. I sent one to Dr. Paul of Williams County today, & I shall send one to Hoffman of Trumbull tomorrow.

I do hope that Randall will vote for the repeal of the division clauses. It can do *him* no hurt but rather great good, and will be exceedingly beneficial to the cause. Vaughan says if there is any danger of Hitchcock's election he will come up & oppose it with all his power. I wish Giddings knew the true state of things.

I feel confident Morse will be firm. He is in earnest in the cause of Free Democracy, and he sees clearly the true position in which things are. He knows too that the only safe course is the straight forward one that to falter or look back, or turn aside is to be lost.

How stands Van Doren now? Watson said that if it were necessary he would come down. If you think best write to him at Upper Sandusky. Upper I believe, but Van Doren can tell. Do you have any conference with Nickols? I have had several letters from him, in the best spirit. He may be fully relied on I think in any matter you may wish to confide to him. How far do you & Matthews understand each other? He is a true man, every inch.

I don't think the McClure & Circular will effect much in Clinton. The old Liberty Guard constitutes there more than half the Free Soil strength. If any man can do anything there it is Vaughan backed by the Liberty men. Is there any possibility that Johnson of Medina can lose his seat? From his statements to me I supposed his rights clear. It must be, if these were true. If there be any such possibility it is more important that the democrats in Clinton should unite with us on a Free Soiler, who is a Free Democrat in reality. We should risk too much by uniting with him unless it is *certain* that Johnson must go out. They would risk nothing by uniting with us; but would gain much especially by refuting the notion that the Whigs are the more favorable party.

To E. S. Hamlin

CINCINNATI, *Jan'y 20, 1849*

MY DEAR HAMLIN; I wrote you fully by this morning's mail, and had sent my letter to the Post Office before I received your note of yesterday. I am very glad to hear of the prospect of the passage of Morse's Colored Children's School Bill, including the repeal of the Black Laws. The Repeal of those laws is an object dearer to me than any political elevation whatever; and is worth more to us as a Party than the election of any man to any office in the gift of the Legislature. It removes out of our path the greatest obstacle to our complete triumph, while it is in itself a great victory of humanity and justice. I shall rejoice in the passage of the bill on another account. The credit of it will redound to our friend Morse.

What has become of the Bill to prevent Kidnapping which I drew, and which you promised to hand to Riddle? I hope it is not lost. With a little improvement it might be made a complete safeguard, not only against the action of our officers & the use of our jails for the recapture of fugitive slaves, but also against the kidnapping by force or fraud of free persons. I shall be glad to see it on its way through the two Houses.

As to the School bill I hope its friends will not consent to any amendment of any kind, unless merely verbal, but push it right through just as it is.

I do not know that I can say anything more than I have said in relation to the Standard. I have done and said all I could for it, and shall continue my efforts. I have no doubt all the money needed can be raised in the Spring. Vaughan told me he would write to Townshend tonight on the subject of the Printing. I hope Riddle will read the letter.

I received today a letter from Dr. Bailey in which he speaks of an interview with Giddings, in which the Senatorial Election in Ohio was the subject of Conversation. I will extract a few sentences which shew that Mr. Giddings entertains none but the kindest feelings towards me—no other indeed than those which I have so often expressed to you in relation to him.

"I have seen" says the Doctor "and talked freely with Giddings. He is moderately ambitious—would like to be United States Senator. If there is a good chance of his election, if the Free Soil men will *unite* upon him, he wishes to run. If they cannot or will not unite upon him, he says *you & you alone*, by all means are the man. I told him he ought to write to one of his Free Soil friends in the Legislature just as he talked to me, frankly, fully, and request the letter to be shown to you, so that his position and views might be clearly known"

The Doctor adds a good deal as to the advantage of having me in the Senate, Giddings being already in the House, which I will not offend against modesty by transcribing. I fear, however, that the Doctor agrees with me in opinion that if Giddings were out of Congress as well as myself, he & not I should be placed in the Senate. He desires my election on the theory that Giddings cannot be spared from the House, and that getting me in the Senate, Giddings being already in the House, would be clear gain. I have quoted the extract to show you that Giddings does not entertain the wish, which some have imputed to him, to defeat an election if he cannot be himself elected.

SAT. 20 Jan'y.

I see the correspondent of the Enquirer suggests that the Dems. will vote against Riddle's bill. Would not *that* be a grand move? Mama gave little Jack a piece of pie. Jack pouted and wanted a whole one. Mama said "no." Jack flung down the piece offered and said he would have none. He would go to bed without his supper, that he would, before he would take such a little piece. Mama said "go," and Jack got neither pie nor piece. Consult Esop for the moral.

Swift acted nobly in regard to the Governor business: I am glad that the credit of settling that matter belongs to him. He is a first rate man; and if he, Smart, Townshend, Riddle, Morse & Van Doren would form a caucus, or nucleus of one, there might be a real free soil party in the Legislature; and Townshend & Morse might be greatly strengthened.

I have mentioned to Hoadly what you say about his article. He says, "Make any use of it you please; but no use which you think will injure the cause." He has no sensitiveness of authorship. Make an article of it or lay it aside altogether, as you think best. But is it not important to bring distinctly to view the fact that at the time of the Election of Shuber there was no Free Soil Caucus properly speaking but only a caucus of Whig Free Soilers? And that T. & M. have always been in favor of a Free Soil Caucus or conference on the principles laid down by the State Convention.

It is a shame that you should be compelled, in your circumstances to sacrifice so much for the cause. I do hope that soon the necessity for it may be removed. In the meantime, though I am not a little straitened myself, you are perfectly at liberty to draw on me for fifty dollars, and we will settle it when convenient to yourself.

Write me as often and as much in detail as you can.

P. S. Do you hear anything from Bolton? He has not written me. I fear he dont like what I said of Bliss.

To Abaz Merchant^a, Cleveland, Ohio.

JAN. 23^d [1849.]

Wrote him Cleveland—

DEAR SIR—I received this morning your favor of the 18th inst. & I beg leave to disclaim at once all pretention to the position, which your courtesy assigns to me, of "head of the Free Soil Party of Ohio". I am but one of a numerous host, animated by a common desire to divorce our National & State governments from all support of Slavery, and thus ensure the speedy deliverance of our country by Constitutional means, from its greatest curse; and to apply the principle of equal rights, on which our action against slavery is based, to other permanent questions of public policy. This body of citizens constitutes the Free Democracy or Free Soil Party, in which and with which I am content to labor, in any position which may be assigned to

^a From letter-book G, p. 165.

me, but without aspiring to lead so long as the great purpose of its organization require my service. You enquire as to my views, 1. in relation to a National Tariff 2^d. in relation to Banking; 3^d. in relation to Lake & River Improvements by the General Government.—I am not averse as those acquainted with me well know, to a frank expression of my opinions, as an individual, to any who may think fit to ask for them:—But, I confess I should feel some hesitation in answering your questions, put to me as they appear to be under an unfounded impression, that I sustain some peculiar relation to the Free Soil Party of the State, if I did not find answers ready to my hand in the resolutions of our National & State Conventions which set forth views, which, I as a Free Soiler, adopt & defend without reserve. I answer your first question, therefore, by a reference to the fourteenth resolution of the Buffalo Convention:—your second, by a reference to the fourth, fifth & eleventh resolutions of our own Free Democratic Convention, recently held at Columbus; and your third by a reference to the twelfth resolution of the Buffalo Convention. As you may not have at hand the Resolutions of these Conventions, which constitute the State & National Platforms of the Free Democracy of Ohio, I enclose a copy. I also enclose a copy of a Resolution adopted by the Free Territory Convention of Ohio on the 21st of June 1848 on the subject of River & Harbor Improvements, which though offered by our friend M^r Briggs, was drafted by me and expresses my views.

With great respect,

To E. S. Hamlin.

CINCINNATI, *January 24, 1849*

MY DEAR HAMLIN: You know I mentioned to you at Columbus that I thought of writing a frank letter to Giddings on the subject of the State of things at Columbus and the Senatorial election. I have done so at last, and now enclose to you a copy of the letter. I do not know whether or not you will deem it expedient to make any use of it. I leave this altogether to your discretion. Perhaps it would

be good policy to shew it to Randall & Riddle & possibly to others: but you know best, and can do as you please.

I learn from Washington that Giddings wrote to Randall in respect to me some two weeks ago, expressing his conviction that I am a *sincere & earnest friend of the Free Soil Cause!* and saying that, if he cannot be elected, he wishes that I may be; and that he has also written, more recently, to Morse, to the same effect.

I had a letter today from Clinton, from Mr. Hibbin, a member of the Free Soil Committee of that County, stating that Jones "*ejected*" from the House had come home "in agony" lest he might be "*rejected* by the People," "and *fortified* with a letter from Beaver, Chaffee & others" certifying to the *genuineness* of his *Freesoilism!* & recommending him to the support of the Free Soilers! What do you think of that? I do wish these gentlemen would just reflect what they would say of Townshend & Morse if they should give to *Trimble*, Jones' opponent and just as good a Free-soiler as Jones himself, such a letter. Mr. Hibbin writes me that an effort is made to have the democrats support the regular freesoil Candidate, and that some conferences have been had between Committees of the old & the free democracy on the subject. He fears, however, that no union can be had. Vaughan will go up to Clinton tomorrow and see what he can do. We all feel the great importance of having a reliable freesoiler returned from Clinton and, if the democrats, to whom the prevention of Whig ascendancy is as important as it is to us, would only help cordially, the thing could be done. Perhaps they will but I fear they will not.

Yesterday I understood from Columbus, by your letter and from other sources, that Pugh & Peirce would be certainly admitted, and the black laws repealed by Democratic votes; today I learn from Brough that some of the Democrats have bolted from their engagement to vote for the repeal, and that the admission of Pugh & Peirce is again in doubt. How is this?

You know I have agreed with you that the most *expedient* course is to repeal the clauses dividing Hamilton County, both on the ground of unconstitutionality & inexpediency, and then, inasmuch as all parties regarded these provisions

to a certain extent in the election, to declare the seats vacant & send the election back to the people. Men, convinced of the unconstitutionality and injustice of the law—to say nothing of the fraud and usurpation of power by which it was passed—might vote to declare the seats vacant, on the ground that the election was held under its unconstitutional provisions: but, of course, men so convinced could never vote to admit Spencer & Runyon. If we look at the *strict right* of the case, however, it will be difficult to escape the conclusion, if we believe the division clauses unconstitutional as I certainly do, that Pugh & Peirce must be admitted without sending the election back. If the law were repealed the general expediency of the case and its influence as a precedent might be considered; but, if it be not repealed, such considerations should, I think, have no weight. For if the law be not repealed & the election be sent back, the Governor will doubtless order an election in *the first district*. All the Hamilton County members might thereupon vacate their seats, and probably, under the circumstances, would feel it to be their duty to do so. But suppose they should not. The Democrats would again run a ticket to be voted for throughout the county. The Freesoilers might do the same. The Whigs would run candidates only in the first eight wards of Cincinnati. The clerk would again give the certificates to the Democratic members. They would again come up with their *prima facie* evidence, and the whole business would have to be gone over again. In the meantime a Whig may be elected from Clinton; and in that case, supposing no other seats disturbed, there would be thirty-five Whigs & Freesoilers, (counting Riddle, against my will & conscience, among the last,) to thirty five Democrats, Democratic Freesoilers & Independents. It is obvious, therefore, that unless some change of views shall have taken place by that time in the minds of members, both sets of claimants will be again rejected. And thus great expense & much ill blood will be occasioned for just nothing at all. These considerations seem to me conclusive against sending the election back to the people unless the law be *first* repealed. If the law be not repealed, I see no way out of the difficulty except by the admission of Pugh & Peirce.

And it is quite manifest that it will not do, to delay action on the case, until after the Clinton election; for in case Jones should be returned from that County, there would probably be enough Whigs, & Free Soilers who consider themselves virtually committed on this question, to defeat any proposition for their admission by a tie vote: wherefore a proposition for the admission of Spencer & Runyon would be defeated also, and the consequences of an attempt at a special election would be such as I described. I should be very glad to see Morse's bill, including the provision for the repeal of the Black Laws pass—and pass by democratic votes. I hope to see it. *It should if possible be pushed through in advance of a vote on the admission of Pugh & Peirce.* But should an agreement to vote for it be made an indispensable condition for voting for the constitution and right in the case of Pugh & Peirce? It seems to me it should not. I would say, Get as many votes pledged to that great measure of Justice & Humanity—the repeal of the Black Laws,—as possible. But I should dislike to make my vote on one question of right, contingent absolutely upon other men's votes on another question of right. The Democrats should undoubtedly vote for Morse's bill. Sound policy as well as Democratic Principles require it of them. I would be satisfied, however, if enough of them, including Pugh & Peirce, would vote for it, to ensure its passage with the aid of Whig & Freesoil votes. In fact, I am inclined to think that the admission of Pugh & Peirce to their seats, and the vindication, thereby of a great principle of constitutional right, would so dispose the Democrats to good will towards the Free Soilers, that they would give votes enough for the bill to insure its passage, whether pledged to do so or not. Col Brough tells me that as soon as he can get a printed copy of the bill he will publish it, and come out in support of it: and he thinks, if he can do it, anybody else may.

But why should I trouble you with these considerations, all of which have doubtless occurred to your own mind, when, being on the spot, you can so much better judge of their weight than I can?

I have just rec^d. your letter of yesterday and find as I

suspected that my suggestions were unnecessary. Consider this as an answer and you in my debt. I will attend to what you say as to the Col^d. woman. A President of the Board of P. W. must be elected by the Legislature this winter although future Election by the People may be provided for. You should have that. If not, unless something better can be done you might take the Judgeship—but this would lay you *up*, which I should not like; and Bolton must be consulted.

To E. S. Hamlin.

CINCINNATI, *January 26, 1849.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN; I have just received yours of yesterday & have time but for a word in reply. I am glad to have you say that you “do not beleive that Col. Morse can be moved.” I have had no idea that he could be. For him to give way now, upon any promises whatever by the Whigs who have abused him so much and to whom he owes nothing, would be to sign and seal his own destruction. His only course of safety and honor, is, as he expressed it himself in his letter to me, to go straight on. I shall be more disappointed in him, than I have ever been in any man if he do so not.

I shall look with great anxiety for the next intelligence from Columbus. The Whigs have generally ceased, I think, out of Columbus, to look for the exclusion of Pugh & Peirce. Almost all lawyers and others who have examined the subject decline to defend the constitutionality of the clauses dividing Hamilton County; and many of them give up the point frankly.

To E. S. Hamlin.

CINCINNATI, *January 27, 1849.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN; As I write, entirely uncertain whether you will receive this or not, I shall be very brief.

I am glad you approve my letter to Giddings. I am far from sure that it is worthy approval. I more than half sus-

pect that I did a very foolish thing when I wrote it. However the truth can hardly do much harm and I certainly have not the slightest feeling of antagonism towards Mr. Giddings, and never shall permit myself to have so long as he remains faithful to the cause of Free Democracy. I think, also, as I said to him that he being in Congress, and I not, that the interests of the cause require my election or that of some reliable man not in Congress, rather than his. I may be wrong in this—misled, perhaps, by the “Ambition” so freely ascribed to me. If so let Giddings be chosen. I shall not complain. I cannot help thinking, however, that the election of one who has been longer convinced of the necessity and is more thoroughly identified with the policy of a distinct & permanent Free Democratic organization, will do the *cause* and *the friends of the cause* more good.

I do hope you will not find it necessary to leave Columbus until after the elections. Your presence there will be doubtless important.

You must not decline drawing on me from any motives of false delicacy. Through the blessing of Providence and the confidence of the community I have a good business; and I am willing to give to the extent of my means and beyond my means even, to *advance the cause*, and I want no one to feel trammelled in his action for the cause, by any sense of obligation to me. “The *cause* first, and *friends* afterwards,” is a sentiment I am perfectly willing to have applied to me by my friends.

I have written Stanley Matthews in regard to the Clinton member. Get him to read to you what I have written about him, and *see he gets the right seat*.

To E. S. Hamlin, Columbus, Ohio.

CINCINNATI, *Jan'y 29, 1849.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN: Thank you for your kindness in keeping me advised of events transpiring at Columbus. Nothing has occurred here of interest since I wrote you.

This morning the *Globe* contains an admirable article in relation to the Apportionment Act which does Taylor great

credit and which I hope you will republish. The only thing exceptionable is the reference to me as having urged a compromise by which Spencer & Runyon should be admitted to their seats & the Hamilton County clauses repealed. There is no foundation for this and I hope you will omit this sentence containing the reference & the next one in case you republish. The article will read as well without these two sentences as with them. Don't neglect this; for the reference seems to me calculated to do harm.

All I ever did having any relation to this matter was to suggest in conversation with Whigs & Democrats before the meeting of the Legislature the avoidance of all violent excitement by waiving the question of constitutionality, admitting Spencer & Runyon under the law, & repealing the clauses. But I never thought that the decision of the constitutional question could be avoided or should be avoided if insisted on by either party, and that the law could be held constitutional, if the question should be pushed to a decision. My opinion on this matter, and also as to *prima facie* right are too well known, I think, to allow the possibility of harmful misrepresentation in most quarters. Still it is possible some may get wrong impressions from the paragraph, if published, and I hope therefore you will not fail to leave it out.

I had a letter from Hibben yesterday. He thinks Tillinghast may be fully relied on. But he must have a seat next Townshend & Morse.

I do wish I could see you and have a talk. Can't you come down say Friday night & spend Saturday & Sunday: returning Monday?

To Stanley Matthews.^a

FEBY 26 [19.]

MY D^r STANLEY, I wish to ask yr intervention for me in the affairs of the Standard. I had a despatch from Mr. Garrard to day enquiring whether in case he should sell to Mr Giddings, at 30 days, 6 mos., 12 mos. for \$700 I would endorse the notes; I ans^d. by a letter to Hamlin, that I would,

^a From letter-book 6, pp. 170-171.

provided a mortgage of the establishment would be executed to you in my behalf to indemnify me against loss. The fact is I have already advanced to the Standard directly, this winter, \$310 besides \$10 for subscriptions & \$75 to enable Mr. Hamlin to remain in Columbus, as editor &c in which &c you may understand more than ever Lord Coke discerned in the &cs of Littleton. These and other expenses that you wot of and the necessity I am under to meet a third of a \$700 liability for Mr. Hamlin within the next month make so heavy drafts upon my resources that I have become alarmed & dare not venture much farther. Still I am so satisfied of the necessity of sustaining the Standard that I am willing to encounter the risk involved in the endorsements named, provided I can be made in any degree secure: At the same time I do not wish to take any mortgage on the establishment directly to myself, because I do not wish my name connected with the paper at all, which could not be avoided in case of a mortgage to myself, as the mortgage, under the law must be recorded to be of any validity. I want you to represent me in this matter and act as you would for yourself and regard it simply as a business transaction, except I am not particular that the establishment shall be a perfectly sufficient security for the seven hundred dollars. I shall be content to run the risk of losing a hundred or two dollars, beyond the amount of the security.

Mr. Hamlin writes me that some \$500 can be realized from the printing for the House. I shall be glad, if out of this \$500 the first instalment of the \$700 can be paid while the balance can be applied to the support of the paper until subscriptions can be collected and a fund made up. Still if nothing better can be done, I will consent to take on myself the burden of providing for the first instalment, though circumstanced as I am. I don't want this burden put upon me unless it be *absolutely necessary*.

Will you attend to all this matter for me?—Considering yourself fully authorized to act in the premises.

Don't go into the matter at all unless there is a reasonably certain prospect of the paper going ahead and paying its way. It would be useless folly for me to endorse for the purchase of the paper, if it must die at any rate, or be thrown on me for support, exclusively, or nearly so.

As the subscriptions for the Daily were proportioned to 3 mos in time, I do not see that there is any obligation to supply subscribers beyond that time, and, as it will not be practicable to keep up the Daily through the year, I think the present is a good time for stopping it. A clear full and racy sketch of the proceedings of the Legislature, made up from the Statesman and the Journal, would be more interesting to the majority of readers than the ordinary reports. In this way a first rate weekly could be made & expenses could be greatly reduced. If Mr Giddings would take hold of the paper in real earnest and go into the field to get subscribers it seems to me that the paper could be sustained.

I think I have made my views intelligible to you. I want you to act cautiously for me, remembering my position & circumstances & bearing in mind all I have said, I enclose a power which, if necessary, you can use.

I shall be very anxious to hear from you as to the state of things in the Legislature. I hope you will use your influence to have a caucus organized consisting of Swift, Van Doren Townshend & Morse and others, if any, who are willing to join them on the basis proposed by Dr. T., and have frequent meetings for consultation. Be sure, also, to get the kidnapping bill which I handed to Smith of Brown put through both Houses. A Homestead Exemption Bill, a Bill prohibiting use of State Jails &c & services of State Officers to pursuers of Slavery, and a bill to prevent kidnapping are necessary free soil measures which Townshend & Morse should not fail to obtain the passage of. They should also press the New Constitution Bill to a vote, and use their efforts to get a fair apportionment Bill. By the way, it seems to me quite important that Riddle should be induced to consent to such amendments of his Hamilton County Bill, as he can be brought to by persuasion, & that the bill should then pass in that shape. It is quite certain to my mind that if a new apportionment bill cannot be had the repeal of the division of Hamilton County should be secured without much regard to form or pleas: and it is also certain that if a new apportionment bill cannot be got through the Senate, no bill to which Riddle does not consent can be got through that body even in relation to Hamilton County. Hence the

necessity of concert & consultation with Riddle & pressing nothing through the House to which he does not consent. See Pugh as to this & others, & let discretion guide. Write me at Washington & let me know *from day to day* how matters stand. I will telegraph you when I am about to start.

To E. S. Hamlin, Columbus, Ohio.

CINCINNATI, *Feb. 27, 1849.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN; I rec^d. your letter on Saturday and meant to answer it that day but was prevented.

I do not fear the war. I hope however for the sake of the cause and for their own sakes, that the Whig Freesoilers will avoid it. Least of all should I wish to see Riddle engage in it. His is too generous a nature and too noble a mind to be made to do the work of Chaffee and such.

As to the paper, I have a despatch for Garrard asking, if he sells to Giddings for \$700, if I will endorse $\frac{1}{3}$, 30 days, $\frac{1}{3}$ 6 mos & $\frac{1}{3}$ 12 mos. It seems to me that it would be better to raise the money in the way you suggested—say \$500 to be paid Garrard & \$500 yourself & secured to me 500 on office & 500 on the Books. But I am willing to do what is asked, provided the same security be given for the 700 as was proposed for the 500 to Stanley Matthews in my behalf. I don't wish to have my name connected with any security on the paper for obvious reasons.

I will write to Matthews more fully but perhaps may not find time to write today. I shall have to make him my business substitute.

As to yourself I greatly desire that you should remain in Columbus; but I cannot stand sponsor for \$1000 a year. If I became sponsor for it I must pay it myself, and that I am utterly unable to do in addition to the other claims I must necessarily meet. I am willing to be a liberal contributor to a fund for the object, but not to stand surety that the fund shall be made up. It seems to me that it would be quite safe for you to remain as Editor, taking the position of President of the Board of P. W., trusting to a fund & the paper; but if you should think otherwise, I

would advise you to take the Superintendency of Schools, and let some other person take the Paper; though if, in your place, I should prefer to be at the head of the Paper and in the other office.

I am glad that the printing which Phillips contracted for is to be given to him. It would be a hardship, and a moral though probably not a legal wrong were it otherwise. If this whole printing business could now be compromised in the Senate & House & joint Houses it would be an excellent thing.

You must not hesitate about telling Mr. Braye plainly your terms. The Ferry Company can well afford to pay liberally, and if you act for them & the bill is defeated \$500 is moderate—too moderate I think.

Write me at Washington.

To Joshua R. Giddings.^a

APRIL 4, [1849.]

MY DEAR SIR, I have just received your kind note of the 3rd March inviting me, in default of being able to obtain lodgings on my arrival at Washington, to share yours. It was left for me at Coleman's I suppose, & I never saw it until to day. I wish I had arrived in season to avail myself of it.

I have rec^d. since my return on Saturday last (31st ult) y^r. 2 letters of the 14th & 28th March. I wish I could agree with you in the sentiment, "let by gones be by gones": & in view of it I do. Let us arrange a satisfactory basis of *future* action & I will cordially respond to the sentiment. But is it not manifest what has past must be reviewed, in some measure, in order to determine on this basis? It is clear to me that the question growing out of the division of this County ought to have been settled this winter by the repeal of the clauses effecting the division. In my judgment also the apportionment law, (so called,) should have been modified by the disjunction of counties improperly joined; & I held junction improper, if not unconstitutional,

^a From letter-book G, pp. 133 and 174-175.

in all cases, where the counties, if separated, would be respectively entitled to a member. I am very sure that had the Representatives of the Free Democracy in the Senate and House last winter been willing to have done justice in these particulars to the old Democracy, not only might all division in our own ranks have been avoided, but the democrats, propitiated by this action, would have cheerfully aided the Free Soilers not only in the repeal of the Black laws, but in the enactment of suitable laws against kidnapping & prohibiting the use of state jails & the aid of State officers to the pursuers of fugitive slaves, & generally in carrying through our distinctive Free Soil Measures.

These consequences would have flowed naturally & inevitably from the state of feeling which always springs up among men, who find themselves in the relative positions occupied by the Free Democrats and the Cass Democrats & act justly & liberally towards each other.

A different line of conduct was resolved on, & the results of the winter session are far less complete, in my judgment, than they would otherwise have been: & we are now embarrassed by the question What shall be done with the division of Hamilton County? I do not see how we can keep this question out of the elections next fall: nor, in my judgment, is it now desirable to do so. I quite agree with you that "standing as we must in opposition to the administration necessity will compel the democrats & free soilers to act together on all matters touching the administration": & I would add to this that there being a substantial agreement between the platform of State policy adopted by the Free Democratic State Convention last winter, & that of the old Democracy, it seems to me, that the same general harmony of action may be easily secured as to State matters. If such harmony can be secured without the sacrifice of principle, & without the sacrifice of the independent organization of the Free Democracy, the result cannot fail to be auspicious to the cause of Freedom & to its maintainers. Such harmony, resulting in a triumph of the Democrats & Free Democrats in the State election, would strengthen, infinitely, your position in the House & my position in the Senate, & give complete ascendancy to our principles &

measures in the Senate. The harmonious cooperation cannot be had, I apprehend, without a definition of its position by the Free Democracy on the Hamilton County question:^a &, therefore I say that it does not seem to me desirable to avoid it. In fact I should have brought the question forward in our State convention had I felt assured that the clauses would be repealed before the end of the session & therefore yielded to the suggestions of several, & waived the introduction either into the Committee or into the Convention of a resolution which I had prepared.

But if it were desirable to keep this question out of the canvass could we do it? It must be decided by the next house & the next senate. The Democrats will elect, in this county representatives for the whole county on a single ticket. The Free Democracy will vote in the same way in all probability. The whigs will vote by Districts. The democrats will have a majority in the first eight wards of Cincinnati, which they claim to be a district. The two sets of representatives will again present themselves at Columbus claiming seats. The free soilers, in all probability, will again have the question to decide between the claimants. How can we avoid the enquiry, How will the Candidates proposed by the Free Democratic Conventions vote on the question? If we should avoid it & elect men ignorant of their views on this question, does not the experience of last winter clearly shew that its decisions will divide the Free Soilers? I think then, that the Hamilton County question must be met & settled in our primary conventions.

My views in relation to it are fixed. I thought last winter & still think that the division clauses are not warranted by the constitution—but that these clauses having been regarded as binding by a large proportion though a decided minority of the voters, the election held, partly under them & partly in disregard of them, should be set aside, the clauses repealed, & the election sent back to the people. I did not, however, regard it as the absolute duty of the Legislature to set aside the election in every event. On the contrary the Democratic Claimants to be entitled, *stricti juris*, to their seats. & therefore when it became impossible

^aSee T. C. Smith Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 161.

to send the election back to the people with the clauses repealed. through the refusal of Whig Freesoilers to vote for the repeal of them, I did not hesitate to approve the determination of Mess. Morse & Townshend to admit them to their seats, as constitutionally elected. I think, of course, that the candidates of whatever party they may be, having the highest number of votes cast in the whole county, next fall, will be entitled to seats in the House. So fixed is this opinion in the minds of the Democrats, that I do not doubt that they will refuse to sit in a House from which the members from Hamilton County shall be excluded.

It seems to me, therefore, that the question of the Constitutionality & validity of the divisions—clauses, as well as the validity of the pretended enactment of the apportionment law should be fairly discussed in our conventions. I believe the result of such a discussion will be general acquiescence in the opinions, which I, in common with nearly all Liberty men, & Democratic Freesoilers & not a few Whig Free Soilers, confidently hold. If such be the result, it seems to me certain that we can achieve a most important victory next fall.

I have thus given you my views freely, I shall be glad to know they strike you. I learn that Briggs has repeated the charge of one of the Taylor Papers, here, that before the meeting of the Legislature I expressed an opinion in favor of the Constitutionality of the division, & changed it afterwards to effect my purpose. This is simply false: & I should think Mr. Briggs must have known it to be so: & I am mistaken greatly if I did not express the opinion I now hold, in one or more letters to Cleveland before the meeting of the Legislature—not so fully perhaps as I should now, for I had not so fully considered the subjects involved—but substantially the same.

As to all personal attacks, however, I shall content myself with a simple appeal to the whole tenor of my past life & leave my vindication to Time & Public Reason. I enclose a statement of the popular vote on the question of annexation the southern part of Mill Creek to the city—a bill for which purpose was so strenuously resisted by the Whigs in the Legislature last winter & was defeated by a tie vote in

the Senate. Hunker Whiggism musters in Whig Cincinnati only 1092 votes. The Democrats & Free Soilers united with the Whig annexationists & elected also an annexation council carrying every ward but one.

With very great regard,

*To Messrs M. and C. E. Sutliff,^a Warren, Trumbull County,
Ohio.*

CIN. *Apr.* 30, 1849.

GENT. Your note by your nephew Sam^l. was rec^d. this morning. As I know nobody in California, the best I could do for him was to give him a letter of general introduction, which I did in such terms as I thought would do him most service.

The Whig Papers keep up their attacks on me and my friends, and I keep on never minding. I am satisfied that what was done last winter in the way of martial cooperation between Freesoilers and Democrats was *right*, and will be attended by the happiest consequences to the great cause, to which eight of the last years of my life have been devoted. I care little therefore for the railing of the Taylorites, or even of the Beaver & Chaffee Freesoilers, so called. The worst that I wish to these last, or even indeed to the first, is that their eyes may be opened, and their hearts purged of the old leaven of Whiggism, that they may see the truth of Free Democracy & love it.

I have sometimes thought of writing an exposition of my position and action, but have been withheld by considerations akin to those which influenced Dr. Beecher under similar circumstances. You know the story, perhaps; but lest you may not have heard it I will tell it to you. On one occasion the Doctor was going home to Walnut Hills and saw a suspicious looking animal by the roadside. The Dr. is a little abstracted, and, the sight of the animal stirring up his combative propensities, he, at once, launched at it a quarto volume which he was carrying under his arm. The

^aOriginal lent by Mr. Homer E. Stewart, of Warren, Ohio. These brothers, Milton and C. E. Sutliff, were among the founders of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

skunk returned the salutation with compound interest, and the Doctor was glad to beat a hasty retreat. Soap and water did their best for him and his garments, but some time elapsed before either he or they were tolerable again. Years, afterwards, the Doctor was asked why he did not reply to some scurrilous pamphlet put forth against him. "I have learned better," was his pithy reply: "I once issued a whole quarto against a skunk and got the worst of it."

Give my best regards to our friends in Warren, particularly, Judge King & Hoffman & Hutchins & believe me

To James H. Smith.^a

MAY 8th [1849.]

Wrote him Cincinnati—

MY DEAR SIR: On my return from Georgetown last Saturday I found on my table yours of the 3^d. inst. I regretted overmuch that I did not see you when I was up, for I wished very much to talk with you on some of the topics embraced in your letter.—I thought I could discover, when in your town some amelioration of feeling on the part of those who have been so fierce in their denunciations of the repeal of the Black laws and Spalding told them plainly, I understand that they were taking different ground from that of the Democracy in other parts of the State. They would feel awkward, would they not, if they should wake up some morning and find themselves turned over to the Whigs. To avoid this they had better pause before they set themselves against the united decision and action of the Democratic members of the Legislature.—I thought I saw some indications that this view of matters was beginning to commend itself to them. For my part I care very little about their talk against me: I shall survive it, I think. I have long held as unreservedly as any of them the Democratic faith. If I have not acted with the Democratic party it has been because I was not willing to dishonor that faith by subordinating its claims to the demands of the Slave Power. Let the party honor its faith by steady hostility to

^aFrom letter book 6, pp. 172-173.

oppression in every form and by inflexible allowance to its great cardinal doctrine of equal rights under all circumstances and it shall not want the best of my humble services. I rejoice in the multiplying indications that the old Democracy is casting off the bonds of the Slave Power, and will, ere long, occupy the lofty position of consistency with its own principles to which I have long desired to see it advance. May God speed the day of consummation.—You enquire as to my position in relation to the late war with Mexico, and I will answer your enquiry frankly, though I do not think that any differences as to the war ought to divide now the Friends of freedom; and surely, the Democracy, defeated by a combination of the opponents of the war with the special friends often of its successful generals, can have no interest in reviving or perpetuating these differences. I was never able to persuade myself that the claim of Texas to the Territory between the Neuces and the Rio Grande was any thing more than one of their bold pretensions by which the slaveholders have so often imposed on the acquiescent spirit of the North and extended their own dominion. I never believed therefore that the marching of our troops to the Rio Grande was a wise or rightful exercise of executive Authority. I have ever thought that had Mr. Benton or any Statesman of like character been at the head of affairs in 1845–6 the war would have been avoided. Of course I never justified the commencement of the war; but after the war was actually commenced & had rec^d. the sanction of congress, I did not think it my duty to persevere in opposition to it. I had friends and relations in the army for whom I felt & with whom I sympathized. The officers & men in the field were in the service of the country & entitled to the regard and support of the country they served. The range of my historical reading made me acquainted with no instance in which war had been waged with so much regard, on the whole, to the dictates of humanity and with so little injury to non combatants. There were some deplorable exceptions to this general observation, it is true, but they exceptions only, lamented and condemned as such in the army as out of it. I never, therefore opposed the vigorous prosecution of the war for that seemed to me

the surest if not the only way to a permanent & beneficial peace. When our army had taken possession of Mexico it seemed to me that the true line of duty and policy for our Government was to maintain the ascendancy which had been acquired and by encouraging the establishment of a Mexican Government under our auspices and protection to prepare the way for the gradual incorporation into our American Union, and thus extend our Boundary to the Isthmus. I was not however, so anxious for the whole of Mexico as to be dissatisfied with the treaty of Peace which was actually made.

The immense acquisitions of Territory which that treaty secured to us, giving to us the command of the Pacific and the control in great measure of the commerce between the east & the west of the old world cannot be too highly valued. If secured for Freedom by timely effort now the settlement of these territories and their organization into States, under the auspices of the American Republic will probably attract other Mexican States into voluntary union^a with us and exert an influence upon the destinies of both hemispheres which can hardly be exaggerated. I am conscious that the foregoing statement of my views is rather crude & imperfect, but it will be sufficient to show that you have rightly judged as to my position. You may safely challenge the production of a single remark ever made by me against the prosecution of the war after it was commenced, or in derogation or disparagement of our officers & men or their just claims, or in opposition to the grant of any necessary supplies. I don't wish you to understand, however, that I join in any impeachment of those who conscientiously opposed the war from first to last. Among the opponents of the war were many doubtless who were governed mainly by party considerations: but others were men of the purest & most elevated character, who were controlled throughout by conscientious convictions of Christian duty, unmingled with any wish or purpose, factiously and unnecessarily to embarrass the Government. God forbid, that I should join in any cry against such men, because I find myself unable to

^aThis idea had been elaborated in the National Era for Aug. 19, 1847. cf. E. G. Bourne, "The Proposed Absorption of Mexico," *Essays in Historical Criticism*, p. 236.

agree with them. It is enough for me to hold and act upon my own opinions—not with absolute certainty that I am right, but honestly endeavoring to avoid error, without impeaching those who hold contrary views. Of course this rough letter is not for the public but simply for your own satisfaction.

Notwithstanding all the abuse heaped upon me, I have as yet kept out of the Newspapers, preferring to let my acts define my position in due season. I am very sorry to observe remark that you are embarrassed in maintaining your position by want of pecuniary means. My own resources by the heavy drafts made on them of late are completely exhausted, but we have friends in Brown County who are able & I trust willing to come promptly to your aid. You do the work & bear the brunt of the contest, and they should unhesitatingly furnish the munitions of war. I have taken the liberty of writing to my friend Mr. Coyne (?) on this subject. Was this wrong? If not, will you not speak to him yourself?

Let me hear from you soon, & meantime believe me

To W. G. Kephart^a [Winchester, Adams County, Ohio].

JUNE 19, [1849.]

MY DEAR SIR—On my return from Frankfort, Kentucky, day before yesterday, I found your note of the 7th inst. on my table. I shall not think it worth while to respond to the editorials of the Bee; but when a true & devoted friend to the sacred cause of Freedom asks my attention to any particular matter of accusation against me, I cannot hesitate about giving him all the satisfaction in my power. You write as if you feared some bad results to the cause of Free Democracy from the imputation of the Bee, implied rather than stated, that I changed or modified my opinions in regard to the Mexican war, for the sake of securing my election to the Senate. Neither this nor any other imputation alarms me. I have neither time nor inclination for replies to the attacks made on me by the partizans of Tay-

^a From letter-book 6, p. 91 (continued on 107).

lorism. I prefer to let the acts of my life speak for me. If these witnesses are not believed, neither will any statement that I can make obtain credence. I do not therefore as a general rule take any notice of Newspaper aspersions. To you, however, a friend, I say distinctly that I neither *retracted* nor *modified* any *old* opinion, or *adopted* or expressed any *new* one, for the sake of securing my election. I *abandon* opinions when *convinced* that they are *wrong* and *adopt* opinions when *satisfied* that they are *right*, not *otherwise*. As to my opinions on the Mexican war I do not believe that a dozen members of the Legislature knew what they were. Certainly I was not interrogated at all in respect to them, nor can I recollect that I conversed with any member on that subject, until after my return from Washington, though it is by no means impossible that I may have done so. I have however expressed on various occasions my views on the subject in conversation both with friends and opponents, and these conversations may have been reported to members, though I have no knowledge of the fact. Of course there is not the slightest ground for the idea that I "stooped" to any insincerity or disguise for the sake of being Senator. I can say, I believe with truth, that the office has very little charm for me, except so far as it adds to my ability to promote the welfare of my country and advance the interests of the cause of Freedom.

I never took any active part in the controversy between the Whigs & Democrats in regard to the Mexican war. I was engaged in a different contest & on different questions. To me the question of slavery seemed paramount in importance to the question of the war: and I never thought it desirable to divide those who agreed in opposition to slavery, by raising disputes among them on the subject of the war. In fact this seemed to me the general policy of the Liberty men; and consequently we find no expression of opinion either in the Resolutions of the National Convention of 1847, or of any Convention in our own State on this matter. The Liberty men, generally, condemned the war, but some in one degree & some in another; and very few, to that degree, that they could not unite cordially with the Free Soil Democracy of New York, who generally sanctioned the

war, in the support of the same national candidates; one of whom it is remarkable enough, sustained while the others opposed the Government in the prosecution of it. Holding the view which was thus acted on by the Liberty men generally I seldom referred to the war at all in any public addresses and, when I did, thought it best to abstain from any line of remark calculated to introduce division among ourselves. I had, however, my individual views on the subject, which I freely expressed, whenever the occasion seemed proper for it, in private talk. These views I have not held or expressed dogmatically, or with any absolute certainty that they were right exclusively, and that everybody who dissented from them was wrong. They were in substance the same as those expressed by Wilberforce in relation to the war of England against France in 1803—a war in my judgment, the commencement of which was quite as indefensible as that of our war against Mexico “I strongly opposed this war” he remarked “differing from those with whom I commonly agreed, at a great cost of private feeling; but when once it had begun, *I did not persist—in declaiming against its impolicy & mischiefs, because I knew that by so doing I should only injure my country.*”

I was not in any position to make my views of any consequence; and in this respect my circumstances were very unlike those of Wilberforce, who was a prominent and influential member of Parliament. As a private citizen, however, though I did not approve the commencement of the war but on the contrary always regarded the pretension of Texas to the boundary of the Rio Grande as groundless, and the order of the President, that the troops should advance to that river as therefore unwarranted, I did not on the other hand, after the war was actually begun & had received the sanction of the Congress, think it my duty to oppose its vigorous prosecution, on the contrary it seemed to me, reasoning on actual facts & not on facts as I could have wished them to be, that this course was the only practicable road to a sure & permanent peace. In this I may have been wrong, and when convinced that I was, I shall fully admit it. I rejoice certainly that I was in no public position, which would constrain me, holding these views

and unconvinced by argument against them to differ in action from those who felt themselves constrained by honest convictions of imperative duty uninfluenced by the spirit of opposition to the existing administration, to oppose all measures for the prosecution as well as the commencement of the war. Nor do I expect that any future circumstances will arise, the war being now terminated, in which I shall be compelled to differ from them. I might go farther in this subject, but I have said enough to shew you my exact position. In one thing we shall probably all agree that the result of the war has signally disappointed the anticipation of those who supported it as some doubtless did with a view to the extension of slavery. The acquisition of New Mexico & California, free from slavery, by their own laws, and the bold demand of the slaveholders that they shall be surrendered to its blight, has aroused a spirit of inquiry upon the whole subject of that terrible curse and the relations of the National Government to it, which can hardly fail to precipitate the downfall of the slave power & hasten the era of emancipation. Let me assure you, my dear sir, that I shall always receive the "reproofs of instruction" with respectful consideration. I am far from believing that I have attained correct views of every subject. I dare not say that I am exempt from even more than the ordinary bias of human nature in forming my judgments. But I can say that I desire to be right & pray that I may be kept from all error, & especially all error harmful to our beloved country or to the cause of Human Freedom & progress—Join me in these prayers & when you believe me wrong tell me so. If after all, in any particular, my course shall not meet your approbation, before you go beyond a simple condemnation of that particular action or line of action and think of withdrawing your confidence from me or inducing others to do so, consider whether you are warranted in so doing by the whole tenor of my life and the general character & scope of all my conduct. Having thus considered act as your sense of duty prompts you. I ask no more.

P. S. I shall be pleased to hear from you in answer to this.

To George Reber.^a

JUNE 19, 1849.

MY DEAR SIR. I have not often recd. a letter which afforded me so much gratification as the few lines from you which I found on my table last Saturday on my return from Frankfort. Our limited intercourse last winter had given me, a very pleasing impression of your Character; but I confess I was not prepared for so generous an estimate of myself and my motives as your letter expresses. I have been so much & so perseveringly misconstrued and maligned that the surprise of justice from an opponent almost equals the pleasure. Your opposition to my election never awakened in my breast the slightest dissatisfaction. You did not agree with me in political opinions, and holding your own views honestly you could not properly aid in placing me in a position of trust and influence, which would enable me the more effectively to recommend & advance my own opposite views. I am a Democrat unreservedly. Investigation & reflection satisfied me long since that the leading measures & maxims of the Democracy were right. And yet I did [not] act with the Democrats, because, I could not so long as it was under the leading of slave holding and subservient politicians without violating my convictions of duty. I was obliged, therefore, to act with that forlorn hope of Freedom the Liberty Party—than which I verily believe there never was a party composed of truer or nobler spirits. Last winter I desired to see the Democrats & Freesoilers in our Legislature act together, because I knew that many in the old Democratic line were tired of the alliance with Slavery & felt sure that a liberal & conciliatory course on the part of the Freesoilers towards them would do much towards breaking up that alliance and bringing the entire party upon our platform. I was satisfied moreover that in the Hamilton County matter and the apportionment question the right was on the side of the Democrats. Policy & Justice, therefore concurred in recommending to my mind the course actually adopted, as most fit in itself for adoption and best adapted to the advancement of the general cause of Freedom. I must observe, however, that it was no wish of mine

^a From letter book 6, pp. 24 and 26.

that the offices to be filled by the Legislature should be divided exclusively among democrats & Freesoilers. I was anxious that the Whigs themselves should signalize their own sense of justice, by yielding such modifications of the apportionment law as moderate and fair minded men could agree on & that the Freesoilers & Democrats on the other hand should concur in the appointment of Whigs to a reasonable proportion of the offices to be filled.

Had this course been pursued, I am satisfied that much good would have resulted from it. An era of good feeling would have arisen among the contending parties and the honor & peace of the State put in jeopardy by the contentions growing out [of] the apportionment law, would have been restored & secured. I will not say that in the counsel I gave last winter I was not uninfluenced by personal considerations: but I can say that I do believe that I was not influenced by such considerations in any extraordinary degree. Certainly I neither modified nor compromised in any way, my political principles. I made no pledges—came under no obligations which at all, impair my absolute independence of party restraint. If the Democratic party shall prove itself in truth & earnest, a free democracy, I shall rejoice in being instrumental in promoting, by honorable means, its ascendancy. But [if] the Democratic Party shall determine in spite of all remonstrances and all efforts to prevent it to go down to Egypt for help and renew an unnatural alliance with the Slave holding Oligarchy, I shall, with God's help, go straight on in my old course, and whether with few or many, enter upon the political battle of 1852 as I went into those of 1844 and 1848, under the banner of "No Nationalized Slavery" "No more compromises of Freedom" I think however you will admit that the signs of the times do not indicate any such course of the Democracy. Excuse the infliction of so long a letter upon you. Read it with patience & good humor and I will charge no other fee for complying with your request to be enrolled among my personal friends.

P. S. I send you the Report of the Commissioner of the land office, the extended and carefully prepared tables are of more than ordinary value.

To Hon. Benjamin F. Butler.^a

CINCINNATI, *July 26, 1849.*

Wrote him New York—

MY DEAR SIR—The Free democracy of Ohio naturally regard with a good deal of solicitude the movement now made in New York with a view to Union between the Free democracy and supporters of General Cass: and as one of their number I have thought it best to state frankly to you the light in which the matter appears to me, and to ask in return an equally frank expression of your own thoughts upon it. Union between the different sections of the Democratic party is undoubtedly much to be desired: but it must be a union upon principle. The Buffalo Convention promulgated a Platform of Democratic Doctrines & Measures which those who composed that body pledged themselves in the most solemn manner to maintain and defend, until victory should crown the efforts of the free Democracy. That platform we adopted, as the National Platform of Freedom in opposition to the sectional Platform of Slavery. I have never met a Democrat of the Free States who did not admit that every resolution adopted by the Convention embodied sound democratic opinion. The resolution least likely to meet such general approval was that in relation to the Tariff and this resolution, as you are well aware, was the least palatable to me. Still it is unquestionable that this resolution expresses quite as distinctly the doctrine of a Tariff for Revenue, in contradistinction from a tariff for Protection, as the resolutions generally adopted on that subject in Democratic Conventions. The Buffalo Platform then is the Democratic Platform on which we are pledged to stand, at least until in National Convention the Free Democracy shall see fit to modify it, in harmony with the progress of Opinion. I see that the Pennsylvanian suggests as the basis of Union in New York general forgiveness on the part of the Cass Democrats to the Barnburners for the crime of supporting Martin Van Buren,

^aFrom letter-book 6, pp. 113 and 191-195. Benjamin Franklin Butler, 1795-1858; Attorney General of the United States 1833-1838; Acting Secretary of War October, 1836-March, 1837. Mr. Butler had presented Van Buren's name at the Buffalo convention in 1848.

and, in consideration thereof, the abandonment on the part of the Barnburners of the Buffalo Platform. I have no fear that any terms so degrading will be acceded to by the generous spirits with whom you & I fought last year the most important political battle which this country has ever witnessed. But I have feared that a desire for union and the hope of a speedy triumph over their ancient antagonists the Whigs might lead them to take somewhat lower grounds on the subject of slavery than was taken at Buffalo. I should regard this as a deplorable mistake, to say no worse. I do not think that the Democracy could be reunited by such a step. You would leave out of the party formed by such a compromise, the entire body of the old liberty men and nearly all the Progressive Whigs who united with us last fall mainly on the Anti Slavery grounds: but those principles and views on political questions generally are so little whiggish, in the conservative sense of that term, that we may fairly assert them to be as Democratic in the main as our own. Besides this loss of numerical force, there would be the loss, still more to be deprecated, of moral power. The surrender or modification of Anti Slavery principle for the sake of Hunker affiliation and support would provoke and justify the contemptuous sarcasm of the entire Whig press, giving it a vantage of attack, which it would be prompt to avail itself of: Under these circumstances where would the Democracy be in future struggles, in nearly every one of the Free States? Borne down, I think, by a tide of opinion setting against it as untrue to its own principles & retrograded from its own position, much better it seems to me, will it be for the Free Democracy to maintain its own organization firmly and resolutely, and trust for growth for individual accessions and the junctions of small bodies in counties and towns, than to form any union upon the ground of compromised principle. There is no occasion for haste. The campaign of 1852 will not be opened for more than a year. The Free Democracy is daily gaining strength. The people approve our views and measures. The Old hunkers cannot go into the Battle of '52, without uniting with us on our own platform, except to meet inevitable and disastrous defeat. Not many of them

have any such love for the maxims of Hunkerism as will make them covet political martyrdom. They must therefore advance to our platform however reluctantly or gradually. Better wait for them where we are than in our haste to rush to their embraces, leave our principles behind us.

I was much pleased by the remarks of John Van Buren at Cleveland.^a He took the true ground "No more Slave States: No Slave Territory No encouragement But rather discouragement of Slavery by the General Government, and no support of any candidate for the Presidency who is not with us upon the platform" of course I don't give his language, but his views only. The last is the test clause. There are enough who will shout forth the three first propositions: but shrink from their practical application by the fourth, and agreement in the application must necessarily be the only secure basis of Union: for no other union will stand the trial of a nomination for the Presidency if that nomination would fall on a candidate of proslavery or doubtful principles. I hope that John Van Buren's sentiments truly reflect the opinions of the Free Democracy of New York. If they do whatever may become of the proposed union between the Free Democrats and hunkers in your state, the union of the Free Democracy of the union—far more important to the country and the cause of human freedom & Progress in general—is safe and its ultimate triumph as certain as the truth of its glorious principles. I enclose to you a communication to the Toledo Republican written, I suppose, by Mr. Hamlin the President of our Board of Public Works, which will still further shew you the views which prevail among us—I shall be glad to hear from you as soon as your leisure will permit and meanwhile remain

To Charles Sumner.

PORTLAND, Sept. 2, 1849.

MY DEAR SUMNER. Professor Henry returns to Boston tomorrow, and I shall of course prefer to take his deposition there. As Hillard will be out of town I shall have to

^a Probably at the Northwest Ordinance Convention, July 12. Cf. T. C. Smith Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 177.

call on you. So be ready to commence Tuesday morning. I want to finish the same day if possible, so as to leave in the Evening train for New York. Henry will leave in the afternoon train. I shall get into the morning cars, and spend a few hours with Hale at Dover. We both expect to be at the Revere House by 8 P. M.

I wish you could have been with me at Professor Bache's encampment yesterday. There is no more glorious prospect visible from any point on which I ever stood, and both Bache and Henry said the same thing. The former was in raptures.

It is very pleasant to write you; though not half so pleasant as to hear you and look into your face and see your soul, and answer you after my poor fashion. I never feel my poverty so much as when among you affluent scholars of Boston and its environments. The humiliation is more than compensated by the pleasure and profit I derive from your learning. But pleasant as writing is—or rather not writing for the manual part of it I fairly hate—but communication even with this drawback, I must not spend more time on it, but bid you, good evening

Ever yours, faithfully,

To Charles Sumner.

NEW HAVEN, *Sep. 15, 1849.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: I wish I could have an opportunity to commune with you, and hear of all your doings at your Convention, and what was the spirit that animated the Free Democracy there assembled. I find no man so congenial to me as yourself; though I do not pretend to be *up* to your theories in all respects. I fear that this world is not to be redeemed from its ten thousand self inflicted curses so easily as we flatter ourselves at the outset of any reform enterprise, and, especially, before brought much in contact with the machinery behind the scenes, by which the movements in view are regulated.

Still shall we do nothing because we can not do best, or by directest means? I think otherwise. Let us do what our hands find to do, and by such means as we can, ever

caring that they be honest so that our consciences reproach us not.

I want to see your Address. I am sure it must be worthy of you; though you labored under so many disadvantages in the composition of it. I could hardly pardon myself if I could imagine that your kind compliance with my wishes has abated anything of its force or persuasiveness.

For this is a time when we need our strongest utterances and most animating exhortations. It is the day of reaction the world over, I fear. And we must take onto ourselves the whole armor of Freedom if we would withstand the assaults of the adversary.

I am in doubt about the course of our friends in New York. On the one hand, the fact that John Van Buren, who has so fully and thoroughly committed himself with us, not only last fall but this Summer at Cleveland, advised the union inspires me with hope that he and his friends mean to bring the Democracy of New York unreservedly upon our platform, and have assured ground for believing that they can do it; on the other hand, I know so well how difficult a task it is that they have undertaken, and how easily, if adhesion to the antislavery articles of our platform be not made a test, men can creep into office and into Congress who will betray the people of the Free States as they have been betrayed over and over again, that I feel very, very uneasy about the issue. I know no better way now however than to put the best face possible on the matter, fight the battle through with the Whigs this fall, and prepare the old Liberty men and the Antislavery Whigs, and the Antislavery Democrats who constitute the life and soul of the Free Democracy, to rally anew on the Buffalo Platform, and break up the union, if the union shall be found to necessitate an abandonment or essential sacrifice of our Antislavery Positions.

Next winter will determine much. We shall know each other and how we stand and where we stand. For one I'll not budge an inch from my old positions. Nothing less than the Divorce of the General Government from slavery will satisfy me. I originated this expression in 1841 in the first Liberty Address published in Ohio, or west of the

Mountains; and I mean to be faithful to its entire import. I have full confidence that at least two men in the House will stand firmly on the same ground.

But we are not to have Palfrey. At least so would it seem from the results of the last trial. Has he reconsidered his determination not to stand again? He ought not to think a moment of declining. If he adheres to that resolution, however, it does seem to me that nothing can be done half so well as to have you just move into the district, and take the nomination in his place. Every man who votes for him would vote for you, and none of that spirit of persistence in wrongdoing which is so active against him could be brought to operate against you. I do hope, if Palfrey absolutely declines, that this will be thought of him.

Please write me at Philadelphia, care of C. D. Cleveland, 3 Clinton St. and send me a weekly Republican containing the report of your Convention and anything else you may think of interest to me. I expect to be in Philadelphia, Wednesday morning, and to remain there two or three days.

Ever faithfully your friend,

To Charles Sumner.

PHILADELPHIA, *Sep. 19, 1849.*

MY DEAR SUMNER, I thank you heartily for your prompt compliance with my request for information of the doings of your Convention. I have read its proceedings with great interest, and the Address with particular attention. The proceedings are worthy of the Free Democracy of old Massachusetts—earnest, poetical, principled—and tending, I hope, to great results. Would to God that you could carry the State this Fall. What a triumph it would be and what an impetus it would give to our cause in every quarter? Can it not be done? Can you not, all of you, buckle on your armor, and rousing the people by an eloquence suited to the crisis, achieve a victory for Freedom, which will prove that the world is not wholly given over to reaction,—that will compensate, in some measure, for our defeats in Vermont and *Hungary*? One great difficulty we labor

under is that our opponents can so palpably demonstrate our numerical weakness by pointing to the fact that we have, as yet, carried no State. This is a great discouragement to some who want to live somewhat by sight as well as by faith.

Of the Address I need only say that I think it altogether worthy of you. Not as I regard it as being so polished and perfect a composition as some which have emanated from your pen; but as replete with just sentiment, correct views and sound principles. It is, as you say, a Liberty Address, and urges the same topics which I have several times, in such papers, discussed. I cannot express how earnestly I desire that you may gather under the banner you unfurl a majority of the voters. For my own part, I mean to abide on the platform, which the Address presents, whether with few or many.

The union of the Hunkers and Barnburners of New York struck me unpleasantly as it did you. It seemed to me that our friends had gone too far, in their anxiety to secure united support of a single ticket. It seemed to me that if they had taken your Massachusetts ground, and contented themselves with proving their Democracy, not by pedigree but by works, and had appealed to the People to support them, independently of old party ties, they would have done better. When the Hunkers refused to adopt the platform, I would say, that the time for union had passed. Although, however, these views *seem to me* most reasonable, I do not at all distrust the sincere devotion to our principles and cause of our friends who thought and acted differently. They supposed that the entire body of the democracy, with insignificant exceptions, could be brought by the Union upon our platform, and made to take ground with us against the support of national candidates not openly and avowedly committed to our principles. If this expectation of theirs should be proved to have been warranted, by events, their movement will be sanctioned by its results. I hope it may be. Meanwhile it behooves all friends of Freedom to heed well what they are doing, and to take care that they do not become so entangled in party meshes, that they cannot with-

draw themselves, in a powerful and united body, whenever (if ever) the Party shall prove false to Freedom.

For me, I think I may say, that you may depend on me. I have no senatorial or legislative experience and some qualities which will be sadly in my way; but I *will* be faithful to the Free Soil Cause, and, according to the measure of my discretion and ability, will labor to advance it. I shall not forget your admonition to remember what is expected of me; and though, I cannot hope, if there be such expectation as your words imply, to satisfy it, I do hope to be able (to) shew that I am not undeserving of the confidence of Freedom's Friends.

Poussin^a came to Phila. (en route for Washington) by the same train of cars which brought me. I had some conversation with him. He appeared a good deal excited by the doings and sayings at Washington. He said that he did not know what were the grounds of offence taken by our Government—that if he had expressed himself incautiously or offensively he was quite willing to modify or retract, as propriety might require; and he seemed especially sensitive on the score that being himself an American, and ardently devoted to American Institutions, he should be thought capable of wilfully doing or saying anything injurious to the American People.

I see by this morning's papers (most of the above was written yesterday) that the Republic gives a full account of the matter. The expressions of Poussin were certainly indiscreet, but hardly justify, under all the circumstances, his abrupt dismissal. I suppose, however, it cannot be recalled. What influence will they have upon the reception of Rives? And how far has this course been adopted in view of the probable reception of Rives?

I expect to leave Phila. for Washington tomorrow—Saturday morning—and to remain there until Wednesday evening. Write me if you have time. Tell me what John

^a Guillaume Tell Lavallée Poussin was the minister of the second French Republic, 1848-49, to the United States. He was dismissed Sept. 15, 1849, for discourtesy, the French Government having declined to recall him. See the art. in the N. Y. Courier & Enquirer for Sept. 19, reprinted in the N. Y. Tribune Sept. 20, 1849. The incident created considerable excitement and caused a fall in stocks owing to the apprehensions in regard to its consequences.

Van Buren and Butler say to you. Glad that Palfrey withdraws withdrawal.

Affectionately and faithfully yours,

Can't help thinking though that you could fill his place and be elected if he did not.

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1849.

MY DEAR SUMNER: I thank you for your argument in defense of equality before the law^a for the colored people of Boston, in respect to public instruction. It is something more than reason—it is reason inspired by the sentiment of humanity. I take it for granted that it will be published in pamphlet form. When so published I hope you will send me a number of copies. It will give me real pleasure in aiding its circulation.

The papers show you the course of things here. Giddings, who is himself a living pillar, says there is less doublefacery here than at any former session. But the amount visible is disgusting. But for the presence of the Spartan Boss of Free Democrats, I have no doubt the South would have completely triumphed.

Yesterday was a day of great excitement. Discussion, speeches, and arrays of clippings, as in a theatre, was the programme of the Slaveholders, and for a time it frightened many Northern men. Judge Allen's speech reassured some of them. His illustration of the slaveholding demonstration by comparison with the arrangement of poor Goldsmith's friend to give eclat to the production of its first play was exceedingly well timed. And how admirably he exposed Winthrop. The political committees, he showed from W's own admissions and statements were constituted for *action* the Committees on the District, the Territories, and the Judiciary were constituted for *inaction*.

^a This phrase so familiar to-day seems to have been introduced into English by Sumner. It represents the French "*Égalité devant la loi*." "Equality before the law" is not defined nor is any example of its use cited in the New English Dictionary edited by J. A. H. Murray and others. Cf. Pierce's Sumner, Vol. III, p. 40.

It is impossible now to foresee how all will end. But we hope the best. Certainly great advantages have been gained, and the Free Soilers have made by every point so far.

Most Cordially yours,

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, Dec^r. 17, 1849.

MY DEAR HAMLIN, I have just come down from the Capitol. In the Senate we had a brief Executive Session—nothing done. Today we were to have elected Committees but the Old Line Caucus had not arranged matters to suit them, & the elections were put off till tomorrow. You know that in the Senate the Majority party selects in Caucus the majorities of such committees as they think fit so to organize & minorities on the others, & the minority party in caucus selects the balance. The committees thus selected have been hitherto adopted by common consent. What will be done tomorrow I cannot say. There was trouble yesterday between the friends of Benton & Calhoun in Caucus. I have not been invited to the Democratic Caucus. I do not think I should attend, as matters now stand, if I was: but it is not impossible that both Hale and I shall go in before the session closes. To a democratic Senator who spoke to me on the subject I answered that I thought that having been elected exclusively by Democratic & free democratic votes I ought to be invited; but whether I w^d. attend or not I was not prepared to say. There was a discussion or conversation about inviting me; but of what character I dont know.

In the House they have been balloting, or rather voting for Speaker. Since the menaces of the Southern men the other day and their insolent proscription of every man, as unfit to receive their votes, except slavery extensionists the northern democrats have got their backs up and so many of them now refuse to vote for any extensionist that it seems impossible to elect any man whom the slaveholding democrats? will support, except by a coalition between these last, aided by the doughfaced democrats & the slaveholding

Whigs. Rumors of such a coalition have been rife for a day or two; but the candidate of the extensionists, Lynn Boyd, has not yet received votes enough to enable those Southern Whigs who are willing to go for him, to effect his election. I am glad to be able to say that the Ohio delegation is firm on the side of the Free States, with two exceptions Miller & Hoagland. Until today I hoped that Col. Hoagland would abide with the body of the Ohio democrats; but he gave way today & voted for Boyd. This is the more to be regretted as Boyd was, as I hear, one of the foremost in clapping & applauding Toombs's insolent disunion speech the other day; and after he had closed his harrangue went to him & clapped him on the back in the most fraternizing manner.

Who, then, can be speaker? you will ask. To which I can only reply, I really cannot say. At present it seems as if the contest must be determined finally by the Extensionists against the Anti Extensionists without reference to old party lines. An attempt was made today at a bargain between the Hunker Whigs & Hunker Democrats. A Kentucky member offered a resolution that Withrop should be Speaker; Forney, Clerk; & somebody, I can not say who, Sargeant at arms. The democrats voted almost unanimously to lay this resolution on the table—the Whigs, in great numbers, voted against this disposition of it. This looks well for those Hunkers who affect such a holy horror of bargains.

With these facts before you, you can form, better than I can, an idea of the probable shape of things in the future. To me it seems as if the process of reorganization was going on pretty rapidly in the northern democracy. I am much mistaken, if any candidate who will not take the ground assumed in my letter to Breslin, can obtain the support of the Democracy of the North or of the Country.

We are all looking with much interest to Ohio. Mr. Carter has received several letters urging him to be a candidate for Governor: but he will not consent except as a matter of necessity. He is a true man here, and so, above most, is Amos E. Wood. Judge Myers would be a very acceptable candidate to the Free Democracy:— so, also, I should think

would be Dimmock. My own regard for Dimmock is very strong. Judge Wood would encounter, I learn, some opposition from the friends of Tod, and his decisions in some slavery cases would be brought up against him especially with Beaver for an opponent. Still, in many respects, he w^d. be a very strong man. After all it is chiefly important that the resolutions of the Convention should be of the right stamp & that the candidate should place himself unreservedly upon them.

As to the Free Democratic State Convention,—I think it desirable on many accounts that one should be held; and that it be known soon that one is to be held. I do not think it expedient to call it expressly to nominate, but rather to consider the expediency of nomination & promote, generally the cause of Free Democracy.

I have written to Pugh urging the adoption by the House, if the Senate is not organized, of resolutions sustaining their members in Congress. I think much good would be done by resolutions to this effect.

Resolved, That the determination evinced by many slave-state members of Congress, claiming to be Whigs & Democrats, to support for the office of Speaker no known & decided opponent of Slavery Extension, and indeed no man who will not, in the exercise of his official powers, constitute the Committees of the House of Representatives so as to promote actively or by inaction the extension of slavery, is an affront & indignity to the whole people of the Free States, nearly unanimous in opposition to such extension.

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the conduct of those representatives from Ohio who have, since the manifestation of this determination on the part of members for the Slave States, steadily refused to vote for any Slavery Extensionists; and pledge to them, on behalf of the State of Ohio, an earnest support & adequate maintenance.

I give these resolutions merely as specimens. They are not so strong as I would introduce. Perhaps, indeed, it will be thought best to introduce a resolution appropriating a specific sum to be applied to the support of the members here in case the continued failure to organize the House shall leave them without other resources.

The bare introduction of such resolutions into our Legislature would have the happiest effect. Can't you help this thing forward? I don't want these sample resolutions used in any way except as mere specimens & suggestions.

So far as developments have yet been made the Administration has no settled policy. In the present state of the country I confess I do not much fear Cuban annexation.

Write me often.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, Dec^r. 21, 1849

MY DEAR HAMLIN, As to unfaithfulness, I deny the charge. This is my third letter to you, and it is in answer to your third just received.

It is quite true that I don't give you a quid pro quo, for your letters are very interesting, and give me an insight into things in Ohio, which I greatly desire to have, whereas mine to you are very barren; and this present one must be most barren of all.

M^{rs} Chase, since coming here, has become quite ill, and her symptoms, pulmonary, are quite alarming. I have concluded to take her to the Hydropathic Establishment near Phila. and shall start tomorrow. I write, therefore, tonight; and must write briefly. Next week I hope to be back and settled.

M^r. Giddings has written to M^r. Randall advising him to vote for Swift and to aid in repealing the Hamilton County division clauses as soon as possible. He seems to have a clear idea of the necessity of this action. You suggest that Randall may be elected if he will agree to recognize Randall [Johnson?]. Giddings says Randall will vote for admission of Johnson as *prima facie* entitled, but wants a pledge that he will not vote in his own case. To require such a pledge is absurd. M^r. Johnson has *rights*—M^r. Randall is bound to recognize them. He has no more right to ask pledges of Johnson, than Johnson has to ask pledges of him. I do hope to hear soon of the settlement of this affair. Randall is bound by every consideration to yield to Swift not Swift to Randall, this year.

I regret to see what you say of the hesitation of the Old Line Democracy to take decided anti slavery ground. But if they wish to lag behind the people they must take the consequences. Defeat will follow the adoption of the stationary policy as surely as day follows night. If the Democracy wishes to succeed let them act boldly—declare openly for freedom—adopt the first of the two slavery resolutions of '47 & instead of the second adopt one declaring the want of power in Congress to legislate for emancipation in the states, but its possession of power to exclude slavery in the Territories and to repeal all Acts of Congress by which slavery is sustained in this District & elsewhere & its duty to exercise that power promptly & efficiently. If they will do this & nominate any man of fair character who will heartily espouse the platform, they can triumph.

I trust you will refer to the resolutions of '47, & put them into shape, and use all your influence to bring the democracy right.

The Old Line Caucus in the Senate had much discussion about me. All the northern democrats, I believe, except Dickinson & possibly one or two more were for placing me at the head of one of the prominent committees, and some of the southern men concurred. The majority, however, decided the other way, and my name was, therefore, as you see, omitted from the list of committees.

I have no time to write more. Goodnight & may God bless you—Write often.

Dimmock, Myers or Carter—either it seems to me wd make an excellent Candidate for Governor.

To E. S. Hamlin.

PHILADELPHIA, *July 2, 1850*

MY DEAR HAMLIN, I can hardly express to you the mingled feelings of gratitude and pleasure which I experience in being permitted to announce to you a marked improvement in the condition of my dear wife. I have been watching by her side during the entire holidays, never leaving her except when obliged to do so for her own sake, admin-

istering to her comfort in every way possible to me. For the first three days after our arrival at Parkeville, of which no doubt Hutchins has told you she mended daily. Then came a sudden change for the worse which filled me with dismay. Then she rallied again and I hung between hope and despair. But now, today, God be praised, she seems better than at any time since we left Washington. I left her a few hours ago, and am on my way to Washington, intending to be in my seat tomorrow:—and to decline, unless strongly advised by our friends to the contrary, the appointment in the Com. on Rev. Claims. Perhaps I may accompany the declination with some few remarks on the Constitution of the Committees—perhaps not. I have as yet made no speech defining my position. Perhaps I shall not make any speech with that special purpose. Certainly I shall not unless some occasion seems distinctly to call for it. I prefer to let my position define itself, except so far as it comes in for remark incidently.

I write in haste; but I wanted to tell you my good news; and I wanted also to thank you—as I do most gratefully—for your kindness in keeping me so well advised as to matters at Columbus; and I wanted finally to answer your query in relation to Mr. Giddings probable course—in the event of the nomination of Judge Myers by the Dem^o. Convention & the adoption by it of adequate antislavery resolutions. I wrote to Hutchins on this very subject in part a few days since. I cannot say with certainty what Mr. G——'s course would be. But certain is it, that he is farther from the Whigs than ever, and that he looks to the Democracy to carry out, ultimately, antislavery measures. From what he has said to me I believe that in the contingency named he would support Judge Myers.

I agree with you in thinking that if the Old Line nominates a Hunker it will be best for us that they pass no antislavery resolutions at all. It will best, also, for the progressives who should, in that event, act little with us—as we would, in the event, of the nomination of a progressive and the adoption of these progressive ideas, act with them. I could myself, however support Medill cordially, if the Convention would make a right platform & Medill

would take decided position upon it. But should Medill be nominated and the non-intervention doctrine sanctioned we must nominate ourselves & nominate a democrat—Swift or some such man—and make an insurrection in the democratic party, by putting the contest distinctly on the issue, Shall democratic ideas, or proslavery policy prevail? We shall then see how large a portion of the democratic party prefer democracy to hunkerism.

I have no time to write more at present. I will write tomorrow or next day from Washington.

To E. S. Hamlin.

PARKEVILLE, NEAR WOODBURY N. J. *Jan'y 12, 1850.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN, I have had no fair chance to write to you for the last few days, having been living at a Hotel, while looking out for permanent rooms. I at last found quarters to my mind—that is as much to my mind as I could expect—and on Thursday had my things moved into them. Wood's room adjoins mine & Carter's is on the floor below, and we three are the sole inmates of the House. We are to take our meals at the [illegible], where there is a goodly lot of freesoil democrats. Wood is as true a man as I ever met with. Carter is as true as Wood in his purposes, but is not quite so clear in his action. We should have a first rate delegation, if we only had Brinkerhoff, in the place of John K. Miller: for [sic] he would keep Hoagland right and prevent any wavering among the rest.

The Senate adjourned on Thursday till Monday, and I came off immediately, without having taken possession of my new quarters, to see Mrs Chase, and, travelling all night, reached here yesterday morning, after 12. I found her still improving, and, though not out of danger, with a better prospect of recovery than heretofore. The Doctor is confident that there is as yet no lesion of the lungs, and thinks if the inflammation of the tubercles can be arrested before disorganization, a cure can be effected. He seems to be much encouraged, and I have great confidence in him.

You will see that I made a little speech on Monday. I

don't know how the Reporters will dress it up, but if they do no better by it than they have done by the telegraphic abstract, it will not do me much credit. It was an offhand affair—intended, only, as first attempt on a small scale by way of feeling my way. It stirred up the Southerners wonderfully.

You will see that the slaveholders have achieved another triumph in the House in the election of a clerk. The Whigs gave the slaveholders a slaveholding speaker; and in return the slaveholders have given the Whigs a slaveholding clerk. The slaveholders who would have a $\frac{2}{3}$ ^d. rule at Baltimore, find at Washington that even a plurality rule will suffice. When will submission have an end? Evidently the northern men have been studying Hosey Biglow.

We begin to think its nater
To take sarse and not be riled—
Who'd expect to see a tater
All on cend at bein' biled?

But perhaps I wrong them. I see that on the ballot for the slaveholding sergeant at arms only 88 voted for the caucus nominee. Some of them were, doubtless, men who were unwilling to drain the absolute dregs of the cup of humiliation. However there is one comfort and that not a small one in the election of Campbell. That ineffable dough-face Forney is defeated, and that too by the votes of the very men for whose suffrages he degraded himself. The Southerners have kicked their own dog, and who had a better right to do it.

I see Wood is nominated. The Platform I have not yet seen: but the despatch to Disney which brought the news of Wood's nomination, predicted the adoption of the resolutions of '47. As the despatch came from Lilley—one of our Hamilton Anti-proviso men—I hope it may turn out that a better platform was constructed. What will our Free Democracy now do? I am particularly solicitous to know their views. I trust nothing will be done precipitately or rashly. We must take a course which will secure the ascendancy of our principles, and men who may be relied on for a staunch and fearless advocacy of them. The next Legislature will be more important to us than a Governor: and

concert and harmony with the Old Line Democracy is necessary to secure the ascendancy of our principles and men in that body. I cannot help thinking that this session of Congress will go far make the whole Northern Democracy thoroughly anti slavery. If they can stand such insults as are daily heaped on them by their southern associates I am greatly mistaken.

P. S. I neglected to mention that some efforts are made to procure the rejection of Perry? (Columbus Postmaster) What do you think of him? My impressions and feelings are all favorable. If you think fit, it may not be amiss to suggest to him, the expediency of forwarding a representation of some influential Democrats & free Democrats endorsing him as fit and capable. No rejections will be made on mere grounds of difference in political views: but some will try to make opposition to the war a test of disqualification.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *July 17, 1850.*

MY DEAR SIR, I received your last letter at Philadelphia. I am not certain whether I replied to it or not. The fact is the severe illness of my dear wife, presenting varied symptoms from day to day, not on the whole very encouraging nor absolutely discouraging, gives me so much uneasiness and such constant employment of my thoughts, that I hardly remember, from day to day, what I did the preceding day.

I regret exceedingly the action of the Democratic Convention in regard to slavery. The proposed action of Mr. Warner, after the 4th & 5th resolutions were withdrawn especially did not go far enough. To reject them was going, in my judgment, very far wrong. I do not pretend to determine what is best under the circumstances, to be done. To me, at a distance, it does not appear that the Convention by refusing to adopt Mr. Warner's resolutions, intended to *pronounce against* the Proviso: but merely to determine that opinions either way on that question should not be made a test. The resolutions actually adopted, in my con-

struction of them, cover all the ground I maintain, and all that is necessary, as Senators from the South here admit—nay assert—to secure the final abolition of slavery throughout the land. On the other hand, a man has only to say that no power over any question relating to slavery has been “clearly given” to Congress and the resolutions become as meaningless as any lump of dough than can well be prepared. Now under these circumstances it may be that Judge Wood will give to these resolutions the construction I do myself. If he does, (and I think that construction will be sanctioned by a majority of the democracy of Ohio, so great, that no division will be needed to ascertain the fact) what are we to do then? What will be the effect of a separate nomination under these circumstances? These things should be considered. All I can say is I will go with the Free Democracy, provided it maintains in good faith its position in the Free *Democracy*, by adhering, *honestly* and *earnestly* to the Columbus Platform. I will, under no circumstances, commit myself to any position in which I shall be obliged to vindicate the course & action of Beaver, Blake &, I am sorry to add, Randall. I do not think that course *right*, and, not thinking it right, I cannot defend it. Nor will I, under any circumstances, be committed, either by my own action or by that of those with whom I act, to the standstill theories & measures of conservative whigism.

I see that the Standard undertakes the vindication of Blake. That vindication, of course, implies censure on yourself and Swift. What is the meaning of this? Does Mr. Gale write these articles? If so, who are his counsellors? In my judgment, Mr. Blake's course cannot be vindicated. Without any reference to any stipulation of any kind the facts are enough. He was elected Senator by Swift's vote. That vote Swift had publicly declared he would give to no man who would not recognize Johnson. Mr. Blake did recognize Johnson as the Senator from Hamilton County. He went further he voted for the Democratic candidate for clerk. The Senate was full and was organized. Then Mr. Blake undertook to recognize Broadwell as Senator from the First District of Hamilton County. By doing this he introduced a 37th Senator against the Constitution, against the Law,

and, by doing so, disorganized the Senate and arrested the course of Legislation. Now this is enough. There is no possible escape from the charge of misconduct in any allegation that there was an arrangement in pursuance of which he recognized Johnson, & breach of which on the part of the democrats justified him in recognizing Broadwell. If he recognized Johnson, without believing that the action of the Senate had decided him to be entitled *prima facie* to his seat or believing himself that he had that right, then he violated his sense of duty to be speaker. If he recognized him, under the belief that he was entitled of right or by decision made in any way, then he could not recognize another without violating that conviction.

You say something of the necessity of my having an organ. I want no organ. I want no support except so far as the Cause of Freedom may be advanced by it. I am exceedingly desirous to have that cause adequately represented by the Press. I am ready to contribute my full proportion to expense of supporting such a press. At Cincinnati we could have the Nonpareil, if we had an Editor. But I know nobody competent except yourself, and you decline going. We have a paper at Columbus; but I wish it were a *daily* for the Session, and, more strongly, that it might be edited with a more thorough knowledge of the practical workings of our cause. I wish you were its editor, Gale & Cleveland still being proprietors & Gale associate Editor. I would gladly contribute my full proportion to that object, & perhaps you would be as useful at Columbus as at Cincinnati. Again we ought to have a Daily here & must have one, if we are to have another National Contest: and I am ready to contribute my full proportion to that. Would you take the Editorial chair at Columbus? Miller writes me you w^d. What say Gale & Cleveland? What our friends in the House. If I give \$100 can the balance needed be obtained? *

Let me hear from you soon—very soon. What was the result of the Medina & Summit Conference with our Free-soil Friends? Is there any foundation for the representation that the Free Democrats in the House approve of the course of Randall & Blake in the Senate?

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 28, '50.

MY DEAR SUMNER: You ask for a word of cheer. The response must come from a sad heart. I have just heard the tidings of the death of a beloved sister, than whose a sweeter, kinder, more affectionate heart never yearned towards a brother. You may remember that when I was in Boston last fall I went up to New Hampshire to see her. Little thought I it was our last meeting on earth. But God has so willed it—would that I could say more truly from the heart God's will be done!

My wife, too, is still very ill; but I hope is mending slowly. I fear, however, her constitution will never recover wholly from the shock it has sustained.

What a vale of misery this world is! To me it has been emphatically so. Death has pursued me incessantly ever since I was twenty-five. My path has been—how terribly true it is—through the region of his shadow. Sometimes I feel as if I could give up—as if I *must* give up. And then after all I rise and press on. Have you ever experienced these feelings? I should faint certainly if I did not believe that God in mercy as well as wisdom orders all things well, and will not suffer those who trust in Him through Christ to be utterly cast down.

There is much commotion here, and some feel discouraged. Our cause is just and it will triumph; no matter how the territorial issue may be decided. I still *think* the Proviso will pass the House, and I think that it will pass the Senate. The South seems determined to insist on territorial government being instituted; and I do not see how the question can be avoided. If it comes fully to a vote I shall believe we shall carry it until the result shall teach me the contrary.

Cordially your friend,

P. S. You must go *to work*, all hands, in Palfrey's district.

To E. S. Hamlin.

FEB. 2, 1850.

* * * You have seen Clay's Compromise resolutions—sentiment for the north substance for the south—just like

the Missouri Compromise—all that is in issue given up by the nonslaveholders—unsubstantial concessions of matters not in issue by the slaveholders. The great discussion is now evidently near at hand and I must speak. Well, I have broken the ice, & though all circumstances have conspired to prevent any adequate preparation on my part, I will speak. Perhaps the sling & the five stones from the brook will again avail against Goliath.

Hutchins speech on the Apportionment Law was an admirable one. Give my regards to all our friends & believe me

P. S. If you get the right kind of a man with you in the Board of Public Works remember James Kelly. Do you know James Brooks of Dayton? He will wish to be associate Judge of Montgomery? And if you know no reason to the contrary I shall be glad to have you speak a good word for him.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *Feb. 18, 1850.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN, Your last letter was very interesting to me. I regret that our friends in the Legislature do not purpose to act in concert with the Democrats in the Legislature in the elections. I regret it, because I do not see any thing in our present relations so different from those which existed last winter as to call for a different line of action. But to be sure it is now more necessary to preserve union among ourselves. Then, the Freesoilers elected as Whigs & Democrats respectively could not be expected to stand together as harmoniously as those elected last fall without concert with either of the old parties, all of whom now stand in the same position in which Morse & Townshend stood last winter, and I agree with you that action with either party is not *so* important as harmony among the Free Democrats.

Giddings is strongly of opinion that Hutchins should be nominated for Governor. In this I fully agree, provided

that Wood is determined to remain mum, as all the information I get indicates that he will.

I should be glad to have Stanley Matthews elected Secretary of State; but if he cannot be nominated I hope Taylor may get it. Taylor has edited the Mirror with great discretion & perfect fidelity to the cause of Free Democracy. He has talent enough and sagacity enough to make a leading man; but his boiler will bear more steam than he puts on, except when something rouses him pretty thoroughly. I do hope that if Matthews cannot be made Secretary of State that his services may be secured as an Editor of the Standard. I will cheerfully do my part towards paying his salary, I wish we could have an equally competent man at the head of the Nonpareil. I would gladly, also, contribute liberally to pay his expenses. As to Matthews you may assess me according to your discretion: and why cannot you make up the amount needed in this way by just assigning to leading men in different parts of the State their respective quotas and telling them they must come forward with the dust?

Speaking of newspaper projects you may be interested in knowing that the Northern Democrats are talking seriously of establishing a Democratic Paper here in opposition to the Union. Bailey is also talking of issuing his Paper as a Daily. If he does not do so, I think the project of the Northern Democratic Daily & weekly will be pushed in earnest. I have offered to be one of fifty or if necessary one of twenty to make up \$10,000 for the object. I believe the whole sum could be raised in a week. There is the strongest dissatisfaction felt in regard to the course of the Union.

Are you aware that Medary's correspondent "Oche" is also the correspondent of the Charleston Mercury? I am informed that such is the fact. I wonder that Medary continues his engagement with him, when he could have the services of men here who would contribute to spread a feeling conducive to the ascendancy of the Democratic Party in Ohio, rather than, by alienating the Antislavery wing contribute to its overthrow. Cant you talk to Medary on this subject, and advise me what he says and why he continues this man Wallace as his correspondent?

The signs here are favorable to freedom. The Dough-faces who voted against Root's resolution are getting thoroughly scared. Root had the floor today, & gave them, especially, Winthrop a terrible scathing. Mann, also, gave the slaveholders a talk on the frailties of dissolution, its modus operandi and certain consequences.

In the Senate it has become certain that California will be admitted with uncurtailed boundaries, which will give the deathblow to the Missouri Compromise Project; the Kentucky Senators, the Delaware Senators & Benton will vote for it and I know of no Northern Senator who will probably vote against it except Sturgeon. We would have passed Benton's proposition to instruct the Committee on Territories to report a bill for the admission of California unconnected with any other subject today, but for the wish expressed by Benton himself seconded by Webster that opportunity might be given to all for the expression of their views.

The Admission of California will be the forerunner, I think, of the defeat of the slaveholders this winter on all their important propositions. Little Clemens has the floor for next Tuesday when we shall have blood & thunder in quantity. The California question of course, for the present suspends all action on Clay's resolutions on which I meant & still mean, if an opportunity occurs to speak, and develop fully the views & principles of the Free Democracy.

Give my kindest regards to all our friends at Columbus. I shall send them in a few days the speeches of Berrien & Davis as I want them to be aware of the extreme Southern positions, the real positions in fact of the Slave Power.

I am glad to say that Mrs. Chase's health is improving. Is Mrs. Hamlin with you this winter? I see some statements about your colleagues of the Board in the Senate debates. What is meant?

To Charles Sumner.

SENATE CHAMBER, *Mar. 15, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: Thanks for your note. I wish I could have the advantage of your presence here and its consolation also.

We are in the midst of sad times, but I hope in God. He, I trust, has not yet abandoned us to the madness or meanness of politicians."

We have had an exciting debate this morning. Calhoun on the one side, supported by Davis of Miss. and Butler, in everything except his personal charges, came to an open rupture with Cass and Foote. I hope, in this, he will persevere.

Petitions, also, on the subject of slavery were received and referred of such a character that King of Ala. and Butler of S. C. declared that they would no longer object to the reception of any petitions whatever.

There is evidently disorder in the pro-slavery camp; I have great hope for the best.

Yours most cordially,

I mean to speak and speak fully—but when I can't say. A junior Senator, especially of my stamp, has hardly a fair chance. I have not the readiness and self-consciousness of Hale.

What is to be done next election in the 4th district?

To E. S. Hamlin.

MAR. 16, 1850.

* * * * *

As to affairs here, there is little of interest which you will not learn from the papers. Of our Ohio Democrats I regard only four as *heartily* opposed to the extension of slavery. These are Carter, Wood, Cable & Morris. All the rest except Miller & perhaps Hoagland may be relied on to vote for the proviso when brought forward. But I am not sanguine that it can be passed. The ground taken by the Administration and the hope on the part of the Old Line Democracy of securing the support of the slaveholders in the next Presidential struggle, and the peculiar circumstances which tie up Col Benton & prevent him from taking ground in favor of the proviso & induce to represent it as unnecessary—all these things are against the friends of free-

dom. Still this Congress will not go by without something gained for humanity and progress—the slave trade will be abolished in the District & two cents postage probably established. It will then remain for the Free Democracy by its steadfastness, courage, & perseverance to bring up the nation to the standard of our principles, by declaring and acting upon, a fixed resolution to support no candidate who will not take decided ground against all slavery which the national jurisdiction reaches and against all national political alliances which involve the support of slavery. Our cause is onward. The fluctuations which ordinary politicians see are occasioned by the ebb and flow of the accidental floating mass which comes and goes without principle. But the current, which knows no ebb flows on steadily swelling in volume & accumulating power, freighted with the hopes of millions.

I send you Seward's speech & Hamlin's. Walker of Wisconsin also has made a good speech which I will send you by & by. Hale is to speak Tuesday. I have been endeavoring to get the floor lately, but have not succeeded as yet. I am only beginning feel at home.

P. S. Was any thing done about getting a suitable Editor for the Columbus paper. Do see to it that we have a real democratic platform.

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, *March 24, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: I thank you for your letter. It is not my purpose to go at all fully into the various questions presented by Mr. Clay's resolution now before the Senate. I limit myself to three propositions, mainly; 1. That the original policy of the Government was that of slavery restriction. 2. That under the Constitution Congress cannot establish or maintain slavery in territories. 3. That the original policy of the Government has been subverted and the Constitution violated for the extension of slavery, and the establishment of the political supremacy of the Slave Power. Having discussed these points I shall have

no time to go into a full examination of the proposition in detail now before the Senate.

How I wish that someone occupied my place more able to satisfy the expectations of the Friends of Freedom, and the obligation of the Crisis! Never in my life did I so painfully feel my incompetency as now. May God help me.

I thank you for your suggestion, and promised documents. They have not yet come to hand.

Very faithfully yours,

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, *Aprl. 4, '50.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: You will see my speech^a in the *Intelligencer* of to-day or the *Union* of tomorrow or the *Era* of next week. It does not touch some topics as fully as you would desire, but as a document for circulation, beneficial to our cause, I hope it may meet with your approval. It would do me good and our cause, I think, good if an edition in handsome Boston style could be got up in your city. Our Salem friends would help I suppose. Such an edition appearing here from Boston would have an effect on the Senate. About 20,000 pamphlet copies will be printed here, but you know we are taxed to death for speeches. Will not Punchard publish it in the *Traveller*?

Ever yours,

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, *Aprl. 13, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: I am surprised that you have not received a copy of my speech—It was printed here on the 4th of April in the *Intelligencer*, and by the mail of the 5th I sent you a copy. The *Union* and the *Globe* were dilatory; but the *Era* had it in full on Thursday, and I suppose on that morning you must have rec'd it in that paper. The *Intelligencer* I sent doubtless miscarried. To-day the *Union*

^aChase spoke on March 26 and 27.

commences the publication of it headed, "Union and Freedom, without Compromise". It seems almost ludicrous to me to see such an old-fashioned Liberty document, by the side of the Patent Democracy of the Union. Last evening I sent you a pamphlet copy which you rec'd today or will receive tomorrow (or Monday) I suppose. I am obliged to you for speaking to Punchard. I hope he will publish; though I confess that the speech is too long. Tell him, however, it was necessary to be full at the outset, and hereafter I shall study limits.

I am glad the speech pleased you on a cursory glance, and, I hope, you will not feel obliged to change your judgment on a more deliberate perusal. I think there is some diffuseness which could have been corrected with a little more pains. But I designed it for the masses, and hoped to render a permanent service to the cause by furnishing a tolerably unexceptionable document for circulation. Hence the fullness of authorities and citations, which I should have avoided if I had aimed at reputation solely.

It would be really gratifying to me if our friends in Massachusetts should think fit to publish a handsome edition; and I feel much obliged to you for your effort in the matter. The fact—if it should become a fact—made known here would have a good effect and stimulate the circulation of them from this place and in other places. Should the publication be made I would esteem it an additional mark of kindness if you would correct the proof. The Copy used should be the Era, Intelligencer, Globe or Union, where the speech was printed in full. It should be corrected by the pamphlet copy which is most correct in type—though somewhat abridged in order to bring it in 16 pages. The pamphlet copy, however, is not more correct than the Globe or Union where it appeared in full.

I do not think it certain yet, though highly probable, that the Cabinet will break up. In that event, it is although doubtful who will succeed. I believe the Seward influence will be, if not predominant, influential. You mistake when you say, "Seward is with us". He holds many of our anti-slavery opinions, and will never, I believe, abandon them. But he means to give his support to the Taylor Platform of

non-action. He tells me he thinks this as far as we can get at present. He will vote for California, as a Free State. He would have voted, he says, for California as a Slave State. He will vote for the Proviso in the Territories. *He knows it cannot pass, and he knows that it could pass if the Administration were favorable.* He will not make his support of the Administration, conditional upon the Administration's support of the Proviso. But he will support the Administration and vote for the Proviso. The Proviso being rejected and he will make no great effort to secure its adoption—perhaps would prefer not to see the Administration embarrassed with it—he will fall back upon the Administration plan of non-action. I tell you this that you may not be disappointed and that you may understand why Seward will be likely to have considerable influence in the organization of the new Cabinet if one should be organized. Non-action is General Taylor's own plan. It suits him. Neither Webster nor Clay, I imagine, are agreeable to him. They are both for the Cass plan of non-intervention. Seward is against the Webster, Clay and Cass plan and for the Taylor.

As for the Democracy, I have more hope from it than you have. It is probable, however, that the Hunkers will require another defeat to bring them to their senses. Cass is full of hope just now, a few weeks ago he thought himself used up. The Buchanan star was in the ascendant. Already I have reason to believe the Hunkers are parcelling out the offices in anticipation. But they are deceiving themselves. A leading gentleman of Ohio was written to to the effect that he had best relax his zeal for slavery restriction, and that he might look to a certain high office. His answer was that "Ohio must not be regarded as a party to any such arrangement—that his vote would never be obtained except for a reliable antislavery Democrat, if for a democrat at all." I learn from Connecticut that the Free Soil democrats hold the balance of power and that no man can be sent to the Senate of the United States (unless by a union of Hunkers, Whigs and Democrats) except a true and known opponent of Slavery and the Slave Power. So also from Ohio I learn that the signal democratic victory there

as it is called is only a triumph of Free Soil. The Free Democrats hold a reliable balance of power. And a large number at least six of those claimed as Democrats will not support the Democratic nominee for Governor unless he will openly take Free Democratic ground. Here the outside appearance of Democracy is bad. But the fire of regeneration is burning within, and the party is sure to become antislavery—reliably antislavery I mean—long before the Whig party will—unless indeed the Slaveholders propose emancipation and Compensation, which would convert the Capitalists into Emancipationalists at once. In the mean time the Free Democracy must maintain its organization and maintain too (which I deem very important) its democratic principles in relation to other subjects than Slavery. This will constitute a powerful pressure on the Democracy—depose Hunkerism from its ascendancy—and finally bring about the result we all desire.

I have written tediously, and have left myself neither time nor space for much that I wish to say about current events here. Boston is doing nobly. I hope we shall have the Committee and secure the admission of California at all events.

Give my best regards to Palfrey when you see him. Is there any foundation for the story that he thinks of withdrawing and that a Compromise Candidate is to be selected? I trust not. Remember me also to Adams, Parker, Wilson and other friends. Has Burlingame returned from Europe yet?

Ever faithfully yours,

P. S. What has become of that edition of your writings?

P. S. 2d. If Palfrey should withdraw would there be any possibility of putting Leavitt (Joshua) on the track and inducing the democrats to go for him? He would be a most important accession to our strength and perhaps his prominence in the Cheap Postage might secure votes for him.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *Ap^l. 16, 1850.*

* * * * *

Benton fights bravely the battle for California & Freedom against the whole array of the slaveholders, reinforced by Cass, Whitcomb, Bright, Dickinson & *Webster!* The old man says, in consequence of his position, some things not very palatable to us, but something surely may be pardoned to him who displays a political heroism unparalleled in our time.

P. S. I send you my speech. I have no reason to complain of the degree of credit awarded to it even by those who dissent [?] from its position. I hope you will like it.

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, *May 6, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: I am glad that it was an "unaccustomed pressure of business" which has deprived me of the pleasure of hearing from you for some time past, and no calamity of any sort. I wish you to have enough of that business which brings the "vile dust" to make you independent of its call, hereafter, and to enable you to devote your powers to more congenial avocation.

I have just been looking over the life of Pascal prefixed to his immortal "*Pensées*." What a mind! and what humility! Angelic in both. Do you believe that at the age of twelve or fourteen he invented geometry for himself—framed definitions and pursued demonstrations until he was found engaged upon the propositions which form the 32nd of the first book of Euclid? It almost transcends my capacity of belief. It made me think of young Safford^a now at Cambridge under the care of Professor Peirec. He too like Pascal is, I hear, injuring his health by too great assiduity. This should be prevented.

^aTruman Henry Safford, 1836-1902(?), for many years Professor of Mathematics at Williams College and an eminent astronomer.

But what am I about? Running on about Pascal and Safford when my whole purpose in writing was to beg you, if a pamphlet edition of my speech is to be issued in Boston, to have the proof corrected by the Globe Edition which I sent you and of which I send you another by this mail. There is one very awkward mistake in the table of Decennial Periods, Slave Representation, &c of "47.680," for 70.680, and there (are) some others not quite so egregious.

With many thanks to you for your kind foster care of my offspring, I remain, as ever, most cordially your friend,

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON *May 25, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: Mrs. Chase and her sister, with two of my children are at Northampton. Her purpose in going their was to place herself under the care of Dr. Munde, but his establishment not being completed, she has taken quarters for the present at Round Hill in charge of Dr. Hill.

The Senate will adjourn next Monday for the purpose of giving an opportunity to clean up and put down the matting and will continue to adjourn from time to time till the second Monday thereafter.

Now from these premises what follows? Why, clearly, this; that Senator Chase will be in Massachusetts at Northampton on Saturday of next week if alive and well, and will not be much inclined to quit Massachusetts until the Saturday following.

Now, if Charles Sumner Esq. could but find it in his heart to meet the aforesaid Senator Chase at Northampton!

I thank you for your last kind note. I saw Rantoul here yesterday. He seemed to entertain no doubt of Palfrey's election.

Yours cordially,

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *May 27, 1850.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN, * * * What a singular political conjunction is that of Cass, Clay & Webster? What a curious spike team they make with Foote for a driver! Where will he drive them to? Political perdition, I imagine you to answer. And really I think you are more than half right. The signs are ominous of evil to the compromisers. Their patch work hardly seems to please anybody. The southern men will go against it, unless they can obtain amendments, which Clay himself dare not vote for--dare not simply because he would by so doing merely transfer himself to their ranks without followers. The break between Clay and the Administration seems to be complete and final. His course reminds every body of his action when Tyler came in. But the difference in circumstances between now and then is very remarkable. Taylor was elected President and is the head of the Whig Party by choice. Tyler became President by a dispensation of Providence and was never the head of the Whig Party at all. Clay now holds a faction--then he lead a Party. The difference is great. He is in danger of being treated as a rebel. The article in the Republic this morning is significant of more to come. On the other hand the Southern extremists regard Clay with little favor--rather I might say with jealous dislike. He has never been with him, [them] and his attempt to head them now--to put himself in their van and dictate to them their course excites no very amiable feelings among them. You may look with great confidence for the failure of the Compromise.

Great interest is felt here in regard to the result in Palfrey's District. The democrats there have acted with great liberality, and we expect, with great solicitude the news of Palfrey's election. The result is decided by this time, and the wires are perhaps even now carrying tidings of it to every section of the country.

Corwin, I understand, is to speak soon. He intends I believe to take ground against Clay. He says he feels a little awkward, having escaped from Clay's service, in which

he has been held so long, and is a little apprehensive of reclamation under the fugitive law—but he don't want to go back—he don't like the service. I think he will make a telling speech.

I learn, but am not certain as to the accuracy of my intelligence, that Taylor desired to keep the Texans out of New Mexico, but was overruled by his cabinet.

Write soon & often.

Mrs C. is better, but the disease, I fear, not vanquished.

To Charles Sumner.

NORTHAMPTON, *June 22, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: I came here on Thursday evening, having left the Federal City the evening before at 5 P. M. I thought of notifying you of my coming but fearing my expectation might be disappointed and having the slenderest possible hope that you could meet here if I did, I omitted it.

This is a beautiful place and the Round Hill establishment is a delightful retreat for invalids. Mrs. Chase's health, however, I am grieved to say is not improved. She has been worse since she came than she was when she left Washington, though she is now mending again.

I was glad to hear from C. F. Adams that you intend having in Boston an earnest, efficient and well-established Democratic paper. I do hope you will. The cause of freedom in Massachusetts suffers greatly from the want of it, and the heart of the cause in this State is felt over the whole country. It seems to me that with a paper of the right stamp in Boston not only might Palfrey's re-election be secured but such a revolution wrought as would secure the election of the right sort of a Senator in place of Webster. How glad I should be to greet *you* as a Senator of Massachusetts!

I wish someone of your poets would give us a ballad of the Omnibus.^a John Gilpin would serve as a model in part. Clay might be coachman, whip in hand—Webster on the

^aThe "Omnibus" Bill, the name popularly given to Clay's proposed measures of Compromise in 1850.

box with him—Cass, footman or doortender; Bright, Whitcomb, Foote, Downs etc. etc. the team of twenty-four horses;—the passengers, California, New Mexico, Texas, Deseret. Could not a very effective piece be got up, on this idea by Hosea Bigelow, and well illustrated. Would it not have a run? I incline to wish so.

After the most careful scrutiny those of us who are opposed to the Omnibus Bill believe that it will be defeated by a majority of four votes at least. But those who favor it seem equally sanguine that it will pass by the same majority. Who is right will not be seen for several weeks, I fear—as the discussion moves on slowly.

I return to Washington on Monday, and hope to be in my seat on Tuesday morning.

Faithfully your friend,

Did you notice the strange blunder in Webster's Maine letter in regard to the geography of New Mexico? He says New Mexico extends from the mouth of the Rio Grande to El Paso and northwards etc. There is not a foot of New Mexico below the Paso; but there is an extensive district, 70,000 square miles as stated by Col. Preston now occupied by Mexicans, where no Texan ever was until this last winter. Strangely enough not one of Mr. Webster's authorities for desolation and barrenness cover this vast district at all. Maj. Gaines and the rest only traversed the State of Tamaulipas from the Nueces to the Rio Grande. How strangely Webster shifts and wavers and into what remarkable blunders he perpetually falls!

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON Aug. 13, 1850.

MY DEAR SUMNER: I heard of the death of your brother with real sorrow and with a true sympathy for you. It was a sad aggravation of the calamity that he perished so near the end of his voyage, just as he was about to step on threshold of his home. I have been taught the great lesson of sympathy in the school of bereavement. Often and often

has the blow fallen upon me—so often indeed that now, at length, I live like Damocles, with a visible sword suspended over my head. It is not two weeks since my youngest child, of one single year, co-changed mortality for immortality, and the health of Mrs. Chase is so precarious that I have no respite from intense solicitude. You may well suppose that under the circumstances public life is irksome to me. Gladly would I retire and leave its duties and distinctions—the latter as worthless as the former are august and important—to others. But I seem to myself to have no choice. So few are faithful to Freedom—so few seem to have any real heartiness in the service of the country—that I feel as if it would be criminal in me to think of retiring so long as those who have the power have the will also to keep me at my post. This piece of egotism is but a preface to somewhat I have to say further. I see you have been nominated for Congress by the Free Democracy of the Suffolk District. I know your innate aversion to an election contest and I can well understand how this aversion must be enhanced by your present circumstances. But, my dear friend, you must not decline, nor even show any repugnance to acceptance. It is a time of trial for the Friends of Freedom. The short-lived zeal of many has waxed cold. Hunkerism everywhere rallies its forces, and joins them to those of slavery. Our side needs encouragement—inspiring. You are looked to as a leader. You know it though your modesty would fain disclaim the title and shun the position. Your face must now be set as a flint and your voice sound like a clarion. You must not say “Go”! but “Follow”! Take the position assigned to you; and if Websterism must prevail in the Capital of Massachusetts—if Boston is to be yoked in with Slavehunters and their apologists, let no part of the sin lie at your door.

Here we are getting on as usual. We have ordered the Bill for the admission of California to be engrossed for a third reading to-day and should have passed it but for the yielding of Douglas, who, as chairman of the Committee on Territories has charge of the bill, to a motion for adjournment. It will probably pass before this reaches Boston. This is some compensation for the disgraceful surrender to

Texas sealed by the passage of Pearce's bill which gives ten millions of dollars and half of New Mexico for a relinquishment by Texas of her "claim"—that is the word in the bill—to the other half. This is the first fruit of the Compromise Administration. This is their first measure.

Poor Chaplin.^a You have seen the story of his arrest and imprisonment. I am very sorry for him, for he is a brave and true man, though I cannot approve of his course of action.

Write me soon and believe me, faithfully and cordially your friend

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14, 1850.

MY DEAR HAMLIN, I find your letter of the 11th of July among my unanswered letters but my impression is very strong that I have answered it. Is it so or not?

I wrote you a day or two since enclosing a recommendation of Th. K. Smith by Donn Piatt for Collector at Cincinnati.—Smith was a student in our office, and always did well what I wished him to do. He has good talents, but was, at one time, rather given to idling away his time. In this I think he has reformed since his marriage. He is poor & has his father's family to support. If you can give him the office I feel persuaded he will discharge its duties well, and do no discredit to your selection. That I shall be gratified by it I need not add. The only thing I know to Smith's disadvantage was his association as law partner with Read & Piatt which is somewhat to his discredit if not damage of his liberty principles.

Well—we have passed in the Senate a bill for the admission of California at last. After organizing Utah without the proviso &, what was ten times more objectionable, a bill giving half New Mexico and ten millions of dollars to Texas in consideration of her withdrawing her unfounded pretension to the other half, we were permitted to pass the

^aWilliam L. Chaplin, while in Washington as the correspondent of his paper, The Albany Patriot, had been arrested for assisting two slaves, the property of Robert Toombs and A. H. Stephens, respectively, to escape. Later, on the advice and with the help of his friends, he forfeited his bail and escaped trial. W. H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad, 175-176; H. Wilson, The Slave Power, II, 80-82.

California admission bill. The Texas Surrender Bill was passed by the influence of the new administration which is Hunker & Compromise all over. The Message of Fillmore asserting the right of the United States and declaring his purpose to support it *and then* begging Congress to relieve him from the necessity of doing so by a compromise—that message did the work. That message gave the votes of Davis & Winthrop, of Mass—Clarke & Greene of R. I. Smith of Conn. & Phelps of Vermont to the Bill.

I hardly know what to wish in regard to the Cleveland Convention. Luckily this is the less important as my wishes have very little influence with the Clevelanders. I am persuaded that the Jeffersonian democracy will be bound to take distinct ground against the Hunkers who are straining every nerve to put Cass into the field again, and may succeed in nominating Woodbury, who is more objectionable. We must adhere to our principles, and, so long as those principles and the course of action which fidelity to them requires are not recognized by the Old Line Democrats, to our organization also. Perhaps a nomination for Governor would be useful at this time—especially if the right kind of a man and upon a reaffirmation of the democratic Platform of '48. In the National Contest which is impending I think Benton will go with us against the Hunkers, if they drive us to a separation.

I shall send this to Olmsted, expecting it will find you there. Wherever it may find you write me soon. There is no prospect of adjournment before September.

Since writing this letter last night, I have rec^d your last this morning. I thank you for it—now you *are* in my debt—remember.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, August 22, 1850.

MY DEAR HAMLIN, I rec^d. yours of the 14th this morning. Doubtless you have, also, just rec^d. my last to you, which answers in part the enquiries you make.

I have no faith at all in this administration. It has pur-

sued the Whig policy of Evasion thus far. The resolute face towards Texas was assumed for the North. The appeal for a settlement of the boundary question, when they well knew that settlement by Congress, except by millions for nothing, was out of the question was for the south. It was as if our Fathers had said to Tripoli, you have no right to hold our fellow citizens in bondage and we will wage war with you if you do, and at the same time had said if you will release half of them we will pay you so many millions & say nothing about the rest. I hate oppression, but I despise truckling. I abhor the doctrines of the extreme South, but I condemn Whig policy. I am not for any union with any body who will not in good faith adopt and uphold the principles of the Buffalo & Columbus platforms. I do not believe the Whigs *can* adopt them for on other questions than that of Slavery they are democratic. I do not believe the *National!* democratic party will adopt them; for they hope more from treason to freedom than from union with radical democrats. Let both these gang their guits. I am for maintaining our independent organization as a Jeffersonian Democratic Party & let who will desert or give back maintaining it firmly.

I hoped that Judge Wood would put such an exposition of the Columbus old Line Antislavery Resolution as would make his election an antislavery democratic triumph. I wished to support him. I yet wish to do so. But, at present, I wait for future developments. I look for the action of the Free Dem. Convention held today with great interest. If it is really democratic it will do much good.

I am anxious for the election of the free democratic candidate in the 21st district. I suppose from the information I receive that D^r. Townshend will be the man. I think his election of far greater importance to Freedom than any success of one candidate for Governor over another. The Freesoil Whigs, I suppose, will oppose him as they did me. I trust, with as little success.

As to the withdrawal of Judge McLean's name, that lie can do no harm. I have the Judge's own letters in my possession, which, if necessary, will speak for themselves. Besides I am not in the least sorry that the Judge was not our

candidate. He could not have been elected: and the chances are three to one that he would have declined it or withdrawn. If he could have been elected who can say that he would have stood the test better than Webster or Fillmore. He is quoted now as authority for Webster's Fugitive Slave bill. And his decision in Indiana is such as I, though reposing the greatest confidence in his personal integrity, cannot sanction.

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, *Sept. 8, 1850.*

MY DEAR SUMNER: Clouds and darkness are upon us at present. The slaveholders have succeeded beyond their wildest hopes twelve months ago. True some have demanded even more than they have obtained; but their extreme demand was necessary to secure the immense concession which has been made to them. Without it Executive Influence and Bribery would, perhaps availed nothing.

Well what now! I say with blind Milton, glorious child of Freedom, though blind,

" ' Bate no jot
Of heart or hope but still bear up and steer
Right onward."

Rouse up in Massachusetts and quit you like men. God's providence has devolved political duties and responsibilities upon you, my friend, from which you must not shrink. Would that it might be so ordered that you could be placed in the Senate! It is your place and you ought to be in it. If the democrats would place you there, they might have the Governor and welcome—doubly welcome.

You talk of the humiliation of a small vote. The humiliation was not for you, but for those who preferred barbarism to Freedom. I had like experience once, being a candidate, under like circumstances in Cincinnati; with the difference that I was as far behind both candidates of the Hunkers as you were behind the foe—and farther—but I did not feel humbled at all.

I see Mr. Sewall is nominated in the Salem District. I am sorry that Pierpont declined. I hardly know a man

whom I would go farther to support, and I should think him just the man to call out the enthusiasm of the people. I hope Sewall will be sustained by the strongest possible vote. "No more doubtful men", should be added to our war-cry of "No more Slave States and no Slave Territory".

Let me know how things go on in Massachusetts.

Yours ever,

To ———.^a

Private.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 17, 1850.

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter, like the "royal Charlie" of the Cannie Scots "was long in coming." It was dated Nov. 7 and I only rec^d. it yesterday.

I am much obliged to you for it; and like your general views. I do not believe that the Free Democrats, if they act prudently, will be put to the necessity of voting for any man such as Wade or any counterpart in the Old Line Democracy for Senator for the full term. I should dislike greatly to see them descend so far from the position which Morse, Townshend, Smart & Swift maintained under worse circumstances in 1848-9. I would almost say that I would prefer a Coalition between the Hunkers of both sides, to such a descent. But our friends in the Legislature must judge for themselves. The responsibility is upon them. I am assured by Capt Radtke, who was one of the Chief Engineers of the "Peoples Line" last winter that he went into it with great reluctance, and that if he & his fellow democrats had been met with the liberality and openness, which Townshend & Morse displayed the winter before it would never have been organized. Cooperation between Free Democrats & Old Line Democrats is more natural than Cooperation between either & Whigs because there is more agreement of principle; and I have so great confidence in the power of principles, that I do not doubt that a union, on right ground & honorable terms for both sides, can be had, if our friends go to work in the right spirit, and in a liberal temper, maintaining their principles firmly, & letting it be

^aLent by Mr. Homer E. Stewart, Warren, Ohio.

seen distinctly that their action is governed by a paramount regard to them.

I suppose the most important first step will be to determine who shall compose the Free Democratic Caucus. The rule, proposed by Dr. Townshend, two years ago is I think the true one: that all who claim to participate in its proceedings shall subscribe a declaration that they hold, as of paramount importance, the political principles of the Buffalo & Columbus Platforms, and will support no candidates for the Presidency or Vice Presidency who are not able & avowed opponents of the Extension of Slavery into New Mexico & Utah, but will act with the Party which holds these principles and whose Candidates occupy that position, namely the Free Democracy; and that they will act together as members of the Legislature so far as they conscientiously can after mutual consultation. This seems to me now and seemed to me then as far as honest men can go, and no farther than any sincere free democrat would cheerfully go.

I suppose that the Senate Caucus constituted on this principle will embrace yourself, Pardee, Randall & I suppose Lyman: and that the House Caucus will embrace Morse, Plumb, Pore, Bradley, Kent Johnson, of Medina, Thompson of Lorain & Williamson. You will find Pardee I suppose agreeing fully with you, and Randall will probably agree with you generally. I hope Mr. Lyman may also do so, but I do not know him & have heard that he may feel himself under obligation to the Whigs. I wish you could see Randall, and converse with him. A great deal will depend on his course. He has done much mischief heretofore, I fear, by his action under bad advice & influence. But I trust Beaver & Blake being out he may do well, follow in the convictions of his own judgment, which, if he will trust it fully & boldly will, I believe, guide him safely. In the House the Free Democrats of radical sympathies will have a clear majority in Caucus. They will only need to act cautiously but firmly, looking before them carefully and not fearfully.

The French say "it is the first step that costs." This is true. The beginning is full brother to the end generally.

If the session begins right, in mutual good will & cooperation between the Free Democrats & Old Line, I shall hope the best results. One side having the Speaker and the other the Clerk in each House, & the subordinate officers of the organization being fairly distributed, and the Committees fairly arranged every thing will, I trust, go well.

I have no personal interest in the result; but a very deep concern in the ascendancy of free democratic principles. May God grant that truth and reason and justice may govern: and that if I am mistaken I may be overruled.

I enclose some resolutions which it seems to me the Free Dems & Old Liners can agree on. Without the use of any violence of language they cover the entire ground.

I expect to be in Cleveland by noon Thursday & stay till Friday morn I wish I could meet you and some other friends there.

[Enclosure in letter of November 17, 1850. a]

Resolved That the Constitution of the United States established a General Government of limited powers, expressly reserving all powers, not thereby delegated, to the States and to the People.

Resolved, That among the powers delegated to the General Government by the Constitution, that of legislating upon the subject of fugitives from service is not to be found; while that of depriving any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law is expressly denied.

Resolved That in the judgment of this General Assembly, the Act of Congress in relation to fugitives from service, approved Sept. 18, 1850 is unconstitutional not merely for want of power to Congress to legislate on the subject, but because the provisions of the act are in several important particulars repugnant to the express provision of the Constitution.

Resolved That it is the duty of the Judges of the Several Courts of this State to allow the Writ of Habeas Corpus to all persons applying for the same in conformity with the laws of this State, and to [sic] conform in all respects to subsequent proceedings to the provisions of the same.

Resolved, That while the Constitution of the United States confers on Congress no power to interfere with the internal legislation of the Several States and consequently no power to act within State limits on the subject of slavery it does require that Congress, whenever, beyond the limits of any State, it has exclusive legislative power, [sic] shall provide, efficient securities for the personal liberty of every person unconvicted of Crime.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to repeal all acts by which any person is deprived of liberty without due process of law and especially all acts by which any person is held in Slavery in any place subject to exclusive national jurisdiction.

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, Nov. 18, 1850.

MY DEAR SUMNER: Thanks for your note, and your excellent speech. The intelligence from Massachusetts is glorious. God grant that the friends of freedom may act wisely, harmoniously, and successfully, this winter, in Massachusetts and in Ohio! If they do our Free Democratic Representation in the Senate will be doubled. How it will rejoice my heart to welcome a Sumner or an Adams or a Phillips to the Senate from Massachusetts—especially a Sumner. And how glad would the Senator from Massachusetts be to meet a Giddings, a Tilden,^a or one of like spirits and political connexions from the Empire State of the Ordinances. Nothing will [prevent] but such mismanagement as may throw the Hunkers of the two old Parties into alliance. In Massachusetts, perhaps, they are better prepared for that than in Ohio. I regretted to see the name of Caleb Cushing among the returned to the Legislature. I, with you, fear mischief from him. He has forgotten his zeal of 1841 in favor of the Northern Institution of Freedom.

The Union meeting here was a miserable failure. No men of high character and general influence partook in it. The *People* are against the [illegible] Measures of Congress. The fugitives defend themselves. One a few days ago, some forty miles from this, shot his pursuer dead. Another would have dealt a like fate to his but for the interposition of handcuffs or some hard material in the pocket. There is no peace except in the denationalization of slavery.

Ever yours,

* * * [A postscript of one line torn in the MS.]

^a D. R. Tilden, of Ohio.

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 14, 1850.

MY DEAR SUMNER: I should rejoice in the election of Giddings to the Senate but no man can tell who will be elected. Mr. G's friends in the Senate of Ohio acted badly in voting for and electing a National Fillmore Whig as Speaker in preference to and over a radical Free Soil Democrat. This has, of course, exasperated the Old Line.

I am delighted with your assurance that a Freesoiler will be elected from Massachusetts. But you have no right to *take yourself* out of the list from which a selection shall be made. Let there be a free choice and the result acquiesced in cheerfully. You *cannot* withdraw to more quiet pursuits whether elected to the Senate or not. Freedom has need of all and more than all her able champions. The struggle is but just begun. When you have elected a Senator he will need support and the cause will need that he should be supported.

I can't tell what will be done this session. If somebody better qualified does not anticipate me I mean to discuss the fugitive slave bill in full. I mean, also, as occasion shall offer, to express my views on other topics. I wish besides, to show that I can do something for Ohio and Western Interests.

I don't know what Seward will do. I have never been able to establish much sympathy between us. He is too much of a politician for me. It is said that he is disinclined to agitation and disposed to be gracious to his Fillmore co-partizans.

I believe nothing will be matured this winter as to Presidential candidates. The canvass seems somewhat active; but it is hard to find out *what* men *are* and *who* they are *with*. Parties are not cohesive enough for the practical purposes of Presidential patriots.

Yours cordially,

To Mr. Sutliff.^a

WASHINGTON CITY, *Decr. 20, 1850.*

MY DEAR SIR, I rec^d. your letter last night and thank you for it. I had written you the day before and have little to add.

Those in Ohio, who think that the Radical Democracy are going to acquiesce in the nomination of a partizan of the leading measures of this administration as a Democratic Candidate for the Presidency deceive themselves; and those who think that any democratic candidate can be elected without the aid of the Radical Democracy deceive themselves still more egregiously. There may be a democratic National Convention, but its action will hardly be as binding as that of 1848. The Slaveholders and their allies declare openly that they will support nobody who is tainted with Freesoilism, in other words, nobody who does not agree to except slavery from the application of his principles: with what force can they complain of us, if we refuse to support anybody who does? Complain or not they will find enough, who are inflexible, to defeat their cherished scheme of reaching the patronage of the National Government through the prostitution of the Democratic organization to the purposes of the slaveholders. I venture the prediction that Benton will support none of the Compromise Tribe. He don't worship the "political trinity" of Foote—Clay—Cass—Webster.

I see the Chillicothe Advertiser, The Cin. Enquirer, the Mt. Vernon Banner, and the Trumbull Democrat are joining in denunciation of the election of Morse, and of all cooperation with Free Democrats by the Old Liners. I am sorry that the defeat of Myers has prepared some to sympathize with this spirit, who would otherwise have been differently affected. But after all, I trust, the influence of this denunciation will not be great. The Old Line democrats of Ohio, separating themselves from the Free Democrats, cannot hope for power, except by submitting to Whig terms and Whig alliances. The demoralization of the party

^a Lent by Mr. Homer E. Stewart, Warren, Ohio.

would be sure to result. I cannot believe that any considerable number will consent to it.

I hope the Free Democrats in the Legislature will stand firm. I regret exceedingly Mr. Randall's course: but it is too late to amend the past. Mr. Giddings sees it as I do, and regrets it as I do. But at all events stand firm, not for *mere freesoilism*, but for free democracy, for the whole glorious family of free principles, in land, currency, trade & men.

As to Senator if the free democrats think of going out of their own rank for the Cong term why not vote for Spalding, Myers, Carter, or Stanton,—some man of known and *proved* sympathy with us? Mere pledges, without antecedent works, are of little worth. How can democrats either object to such a man as Brinkerhoff or Fitch, always democrats. Though they voted for the Buffalo nominee last election, did they not vote for the elder and better democrat?

But the Old Line democrats must meet the Free democrats on terms of equality. Our democracy is as good as theirs—we think it better. Our devotion to democratic principles is as ardent as their and as constant. We think it more ardent and more constant. They must recognize us as democrats, differing from them in only one respect, that we will not cooperate with slaveholders, who make antislavery a disqualification for their suffrages, in party organization. In voting for a true free democrat for Senator, they sacrifice nothing of principle or interest. I trust there will be no yielding to the clamor of the Hunker Presses, and that the Free Democrats will not relax their standard in consequence of it. Rather than aid in placing in the Senate, a man who will sell out to the slaveholders, let the election go over, or let the Hunkers of both sides combine, and take the consequences. Better elect in cooperation with the whigs—though hardly any circumstances would, under the present aspects of National politics, reconcile me to this—if a good and reliable freesoiler can be secured, though of whig affinities, than take the responsibility of voting for a man who may deceive you.

I have read Wood's message. It is not very definite, and his doctrines on the subject of the Fugitive Slave law are

unworthy of him; but on the whole it is antislavery enough to give no satisfaction whatever to the Hunkers here.

Write often.

To E. S. Hamlin.

DEC. 21, 1850.

* * * * *

There is a good deal of Presidential speculation here. Our friends generally favor Benton, and he will certainly run, if the people call on him, against any "rotten", as he calls the runners after the Omnibuseers. Old Gen^l. Dodge of Wisconsin is also spoken of. Cass' prospects look blue. The Southern Rights Party is dead against him & embraces a majority of those known heretofore, as Southern Democrats. This makes his case hopeless in the South.

* * * * *

To Mr. Sutcliff.^a

WASHINGTON, *Jan'y 7, 1851.*

MY DEAR SIR, I am not certain whether I replied to your letter of the 22nd which I received in New York where I spent Christmas. At any rate I will write you a few lines now.

I rejoice greatly in the unanimity which characterizes the action of the majority of the free democrats in the Legislature and I still more rejoice in their determination to make good their title to the name of democrats by their acts. We reproach the old line democracy for their inconsistency in allying themselves with slaveholders to effect their purposes. We profess to see more clearly and to follow more unreservedly the teachings of Jefferson. But in what is our inconsistency less, if we yield to alliances with the Black Power or Monopoly Power, for the sake of carrying particular points of our own. My only hope for the triumph of our antislavery principles is by consistent action upon a truly democratic platform under the democratic banner & with the democratic name. If our brethren of the old Line

^a Lent by Mr. Homer E. Stewart, Warren, Ohio.

see us consistent they will infallibly be drawn to cooperation & final union with us. Designing men may delay this for a time, but as you remark *the continuances will be at their costs.*

Giddings, now, thinks, I believe, very much as I do on this subject, and when you all go home in the spring a movement in the right direction of tremendous power may be and should be made.

But to secure our greatest efficiency we should have papers of the right stamp at the most important points. The "Standard" should be placed under vigorous editorial control and its circulation extended as far as possible. I am in hopes we shall not be long without a genuine antislavery democratic paper at Cincinnati. The true Democrat at Cleveland is far from what we need. Its Whig sympathies paralyze its efficiency for good. I have conversed with Mr. Vaughan, whom I cordially esteem for his many good qualities, though I differ widely from him as to the proper course to be pursued by the Free democracy, upon this subject, but he is not at all inclined to adopt the views which seem to me obviously sound. Do—let me beg of you—consult our friends and if it be a possible thing get the Standard into right hands and under vigorous headway, I am willing to be taxed what is right.

I am glad that Col. Medary takes a liberal view of things. His paper favors cooperation between old line democrats and the radical democrats, and has drawn down upon itself the wrath of some of the Hunkers—I hope our friends will make up, by their support, all it loses by the hostility of the proslavery folk.

There is nothing new here. Give my best regards to Pardee—"a brother beloved," though unknown in the flesh.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Jan'y 15, 1851.*

MY DEAR SIR, Why have you not written me these many days? I believe you are my debtor, but I shall stand on no formality.

It seems to me that there never was more pressing need of vigilant and decided action on the part of the friends of freedom. I am exceedingly anxious for the adoption of Sutliff's resolutions or their equivalents. We need the voice of Ohio here. If I were a free democrat in the Legislature I would not take a step, in cooperation with either of the old parties until I had obtained a clear expression either by legislation or resolution on the great questions of freedom—I mean of course after organization.

It is well understood here that a combined effort has been made to defeat the resolution [reëlection] of Fremont in California. It seems that in the election of members of the Legislature men of southern proslavery sympathies [were nominated]. This would, had Fremont drawn the long term, secure Gwin's reëlection, if he should take sides as he seems to have done with the proslavery men, or of someone who would take such side in his place. Some anticipate that the California Legislature will sanction slavery or propose amendments of the Constitution with that view. Col. Benton thinks, however, they will hardly dare to venture on this. Fremont is to be defeated, however, if possible, on account of his opposition to slavery, and the probability is that his defeat will be achieved. This is not very encouraging from California, and does not look much like a settlement of the slavery question.

Col. Benton's election will probably be determined one way or the other before this reaches you. To enable you to judge, however, what influences are at work to defeat him I will barely mention that I accidentally heard today one slaveholding democrat expressing to another, who was supposed to have much influence with the Missouri members, a strong wish that they would vote for the Whig candidate, if sound on the slavery question. The gentleman addressed appeared to acquiesce in this view.

Gen Cass has never denied Foote's statement in New York that he would willingly see Clay elected if such should be the result of the action of the Compromise Committee, and never will. He now however, it is understood, takes ground against the Union organization. There has been an attempt to get up a meeting of members of Con-

gress independent of old party lines to denounce the Free Democracy. But as yet it is a failure.

I received a letter from Santa Fe today from an intelligent man. It is dated Nov. 29th. The writer says great efforts are made to create a proslavery sentiment and that the question of slavery or freedom in New Mexico hangs suspended upon the action of this administration.

Slaves are held in the territory now, and more will be introduced, if the organization of the Territorial Government encourages the hope that the holders will be undisturbed.

Under these circumstances let no friend of freedom fold his arms or think his work done. Especially let our friends in the Legislature be firm, vigilant & wary.

To Mr. Sulliff.^a

WASHINGTON CITY, Jan^y. 16, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR, Mr. Hoadly, of Cincinnati, has requested me to write you in relation to his election as Judge of the Superior Court, and it gives me real pleasure, except so far as his election would deprive the office in which I am interested of his services—to comply with his request. He is a gentleman, of very rare abilities, and in my judgment, peculiarly qualified to fill a judicial station with honor to himself and credit to his appointers. His energy and industry give assurances that the business of the Court, which is terribly in arrear, would be brought up and expedited to the great advantage of suitors and lawyers. These qualifications are first worthy of consideration, in some respects but not in all. I rank even before these a generous devotion to human liberty and a disposition to make law answer the ends of justice instead of the purposes of oppression. His views, I believe, of the Constitution and Law as bearing on the question of Human Rights are, I believe, the same as my own. What they are you know. It is something to be added to these considerations that Mr. Hoadly was one of that—it is not too much to say he was the leader—

^a Lent by Mr. Homer E. Stewart, Warren, Ohio.

of that band of democrats, who forsook Cass when he forsook Democracy by writing the Nicholson letter, & stood with us on the Buffalo Platform. I hope, if your views of public duty permit it, that you will not, if it be possible to elect Hoadly, concur in the election of any other man, not as amply qualified, and especially not in the election of a Whig with the cooperation or under any arrangement with the friends of this administration.

Sumner is, I suppose, defeated at Boston. Websterism and Cassism coalesced against him, and every nerve was strained to defeat him by every appliance. The Hunkers have probably succeeded.

I enclose an article from the Toledo Republican, which seems to me to take right views of the course proper to be pursued in the Legislature by Free Democrats, if they cannot elect a man, [sic] out and out, of themselves. But I do not yet despair of such an election. Morse gave me a gleam of hope that you might yet be elected. I should be more than delighted to welcome you to a share of my toils. If it be impossible, however, to elect a radical free democrat, and the democrats should tender a man *whose course of action* has inspired his friends with the *assurance* that he is as good a freesoiler as I am a democrat it would be wisdom in my judgment, under present circumstances, to [sic] make arrangements with the old line for his election to the Senate & of an equitable proportion of Free Democrats to other offices. But I do not anticipate that the freesoilers can be satisfied in this way, for I do not suppose that men who refuse to vote for Medary could be brought to vote for any man who would be satisfactory to Freesoilers, even though taken from the old line ranks.

I do not myself anticipate any election. It has been said that the Whigs will elect Hitchcock. If they will, without any arrangement as to other offices, I take it for granted the Free Democrats would not refuse their votes to a man who has shewn his fidelity to our cause as he did during the campaign of '48, and has abided in the Free Democratic organization ever since. True his views are not radical like yours or mine; but that difference would not excuse such as you and I from his support, any more than it excused

such as he is from my support in 1849. I would not imitate their bad example. But I would enter into no *arrangement* with the supporters of this Administration in relation to elections *upon any terms*. It would be, I verily believe, *fatal* to our organization and our progress. If they choose to vote for one of our men without consideration, except a preference for his character & capacity over opposing candidates, well & good. Our *Natural* allies are the old line democrats. If, under evil influences, they refuse the alliance, and you cannot elect independently, I say, for one, let the election go over and let us appeal to the people. I have no fears as to the result.

Nothing new here. The Hunker Leaders of the old Line are down hearted. It becomes daily more and more apparent that no one of them can unite the democratic party. One of them remarked to me the other day that the democratic party was broken up for ten years to come. I told I thought we should be able to unite on true principles in two or three years: but he didn't seem desirous of *that*.

Shew this to Pardee and give my best regards to him.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Feb. 24, 1851.*

MY DEAR SIR, I am in debt to you, but not absolutely insolvent. I have taken to be sure rather an unreasonable stay of execution, but I always meant to pay up at last. But you will have even now to take payment in depreciated currency and that you will say is half way to repudiation. I can only give you a very hurried and unsatisfactory letter for your good one.

The papers will shew you that agitation has not been entirely excluded from the Senate. Clay has himself been the arch agitator. For myself I thought it a good occasion to appear in the character of a friend to the progress of business, and the postponement of slavery discussions, which would interfere with it at this session. I was really anxious for the progress of business -- for the fate of cheap postage and the harbor & river bill depended upon it. And besides

I decided to show the country the hypocrisy of those pretences which always put the "other public interests" in competition with "freedom" but never in competition with slavery. You will see my speech and I hope approve of it. It had one capital effect. It brought out Rhett in an able speech vindicating the same views of the fugitive servant clause of the Constitution which I adopt. These southern ultras are altogether more honest than the southern dough-faces. They believe slavery to be right most of them and the rest believe it to be a necessity. They all agree in believing that in the present state of the races in the slave states slavery is best for both and indeed indispensable to the safety of both. They believing and holding also that the Constitution recognizes their right of property in slaves, their conclusions are natural enough. They avow them boldly and act upon them. The Compromisers on the other hand, generally, regard slavery as a temporary institution; but use it as a means of gaining and retaining political power.

It seems to me that the only course for us who believe in equal rights without limitations or exceptions, is to act together. We shall be ruined if we undertake to act with the Whigs. We cannot merge in the Old Line Democracy, so long as it cleaves to its alliance with the slave power, without being *submerged*. It seems to me that our true course, in the event, that the young men's Democratic Convention in May fail, as I fear they will fail, to take ground on the slavery questions which we can approve, is to call a Convention of Radical Democrats or Jeffersonian Democrats to meet in June or thereabouts and organize throughout the State. This course will bring Hunkerism to its senses.

All on the subject of the Presidency is much as it was when I last wrote you. Douglas is figuring, but he can't come it.

Write me at Cincinnati immediately on receiving this. I expect to be there on Friday night or Saturday morning of next week: and I hope to be able to spend a day or two in Columbus before the Legislature adjourns. I desire much to see our friends there.

Miller of the Toledo Republican writes me that he is about to sell out. I am sorry; but if he and Riley can be secured for the Columbus paper the cause may not lose by it. Under existing circumstances it is very important to have a paper of the right kind at the Capital.

To Charles Sumner.

WASHINGTON CITY, Feb. 26, 1851.

MY DEAR SUMNER, I have long desired to write you, but have postponed it from day to day in the hope that I might be able to congratulate you on your election. I suppose another attempt has been made today, but the past has discouraged me. The treachery of the rascals who have hitherto defeated you is probably too deep to be repented of. But there will be a glorious issue to go to the people upon. The Free Democracy and the Old Line Democracy will now be drawn into closer sympathy. I think this approximation is needed. Your old style for our organization of the Free Democracy, rather than Free Soil, you know, was always most acceptable to me. In fact I should not myself be willing to fight in a mere free soil party at the present time. I should be too uncertain whither it would drift. We must soon grapple with the great question of emancipation. It will not be long before the gentlemen who are always for compromise, will be ready for some scheme of emancipation by which the masters will be indemnified. Capital in mills and shops and stocks and capital in men women & children will ally themselves together and propose a grand national debt for raising the means of compensation. To be safe we must place ourselves on the ground of the separation of the Genl. Government from slavery leaving all questions of slavery within states to the states themselves. This is the democratic view, and harmonizes with the original policy of the Government.

But why talk to you of these things, when you know all about them? Let me hear from you. I shall leave on Tuesday morning or evening for Cincinnati.

Yours ever,

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, April 28, 1851.

MY DEAR SUMNER, Laus Deo! From the bottom of my heart I congratulate you—no, not you but all friends of freedom everywhere upon your election to the Senate. Now, I feel as if I had a brother—colleague—one with whom I shall sympathize and be able fully to act. Hale, glorious and noble fellow as he is, is yet too much an offhand man himself to be patient of consultation—while Seward, though meaning to maintain his own position as an Antislavery man, means to maintain it in the Whig Party and only in the Whig Party. Wade, who has been elected to be my colleague, is not known to me personally. I am told he denounced [?] Fillmore, Webster & the Compromise before election. Since, he has written a letter proclaiming himself a Whig & only a Whig, claiming only toleration of differences of opinion in the Whig Party on the slavery questions. I *think* he will generally go with Seward. He is one of the original abolitionists and I do not believe he will be derelict to the Antislavery faith. None of these are to me as you are. I feel that you have larger broader views, and that you are willing to labor more systematically for the accomplishment of greater purposes.

In this state a large body of the democracy is prepared to throw off the slaveholders yoke. I anticipate a movement before long, and I hope the best effects from it. If we can only have a Free Democracy—Independent Democracy—in deed as well as in name the day of our country's redemption and the slave's deliverence will not be far off. But it must be made of sterner stuff than that portion of the New York Democracy which united with us at Buffalo and afterwards consented to the union with the Hunkers on the Baltimore Platform!

I hope we shall be inmates of the same house next winter. Last winter I had lodgings on the Northeast corner of C & 4½ streets & took my meals at a boarding house. I found this a good arrangement. If the house is still open you can get as good rooms in it as anywhere in Washington. In order to obtain a seat at all eligible in the Chamber it will

be well to ascertain at once what seats are vacant, and get the best of them. This can be done best, perhaps, by a letter from Hale or Davis, as either may be most convenient to you, to the Secretary of the Senate.

Write me soon.

Most sincerely yours

P. S. Do you know that you are in my debt for a letter or two?

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, *June 11, 1851.*

MY DEAR SUMNER, I had just written & mailed to you a note this morning, when I received your welcome though brief letter of the 5th.

I can easily believe that you have no *personal* joy in the result of the senatorial controversy in Massachusetts. You will have less when you have had more experience of the station. I *was* gratified by my election. It proved to some solicitous friends that I had not thrown myself away, and it disappointed the malice of some whose hostility I had not otherwise deserved, than by a steady adherence to my own convictions of right and duty. Above all I rejoiced on account of our great cause, for I flattered myself that in my new position I should be able to accomplish more for it than hitherto. In this last respect I have been disappointed. I have not seen the progress I hoped. The elements of the great combination between the "Lords of the Loom & the Lords of the Lash" are mightier than I imagined. For a year past I have often thought of resigning, and I can echo, heartily, your words "Could I, with propriety, make a vacancy I would do it."

The seat which you have selected is that which was occupied by Greene of Rhode Island, I believe. It is a very good seat; but I wish you & Hale both were on the other side of the Chamber.

In relation to rooms I agree with you as to the most eligible plan. Mine, last winter, was a modification of it. I had two rooms and my own servant, but went out to all my

meals. If the same building is to be had next winter, I think a few could unite and by having a cook occupy the basement carry out your entire idea.

As to the Presidency my idea is Scott for the Whigs—a Compromise Democrat for the Old Line—and a real democrat for the Free Democracy, & a Southern Rights man for the extremists. Concession enough by the Democrats may take the last named out of the field, but would strengthen Scott, by making it impossible for Compromise Whigs to support the Compromise Democrat. The Compromise Whigs are not strong enough to nominate a declared Compromise Whig.

Yours cordially,

I have yet a little thought of going with Mrs. C. to Europe this Summer. If I do which is the best route & plan.

To Charles Sumner.

TOLEDO, June 28, 1851.

MY DEAR SUMNER, We had a glorious time at Ravenna. Fifteen hundred or two thousand people were present. The best men of the Reserve were there—Giddings & Townshend of the House—Spalding, of our Supreme Court—Morse, Speaker of our last House of Representatives and many others of less note. The resolutions were not quite fundamental enough in their democratic character to suit me; but they will do. It was occasion of much regret that you were not there, and I did not receive your note until yesterday just as I was leaving Cleveland for this place, with Mrs. C. and my little daughter.

Mrs. C. has nearly relinquished the idea of a journey to Europe. We may however before we return to Cincinnati visit Boston.

I notice what you say of the state of things in Massachusetts. With us the same bitterness does not yet discover itself; but we have got to go to work. The chiefly [sic] difficulty we labor under is the want of a common uniting principle. That I am satisfied will be found in a cordial

recognition of the great democratic principle of Equal Rights & Exact Justice, with a fixed purpose to carry it out into practical application to all subjects of governmental action. *That* will unite us with the strong bond of fraternity. *That* will give us the name & character of democrats and make us invincible.

Yours cordially,

P. S. How w^d. you like a house at Washington jointly with me or with me & Hale? I must contrive some way to be near you. I reckon upon so much benefit from your society.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, Dec. 5, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR, I have just sent that letter to you to the Post Office as there was but just time to save the mail. Fearing you may not come on, I have thought it best to write you a little more at large in explanation of my views.

It was supposed, before the session, commenced that the Democratic Caucuses of the Senate and the House might be induced to adopt the Compromises as parts of the Democratic Platform and thus exclude the Antislavery men. It was the anxious wish of Foote, Cobb & Co, including the Whigs of the South, that they should do so, and thus open the door for the admission of the Constitutional Union Party into the bosom of the democracy. But when Congress assembled and the Antislavery Representatives (Democrats) such as King, Cleveland & Rantoul went into Caucus declaring that if any such test as adherence to the Compromises was imposed they must withdraw, light suddenly shone into the understandings of the Hunkers and they became suddenly convinced that Resolutions endorsing the Compromises were *inexpedient*. The rationale of the matter was that they feared the loss of the Progressive Democrats more than they desired the gain of the Constitutional Union Men. So the resolution was laid on the table in the House Caucus and the idea of introducing it into the Senate Caucus was abandoned. Foote has brought into the Senate, on his own

responsibility, the resolution which was rejected in the House Caucus. It may pass, but I think it doubtful. I know its introduction is condemned by the most prominent democrats. If it passes it must be by a combined vote of whigs & democrats. It cannot receive democratic votes enough to pass it.

Under these circumstances I feel pretty sure that there will be no attempts to engraft any approval of the Compromise measures upon the Baltimore Platform. On the contrary, I think it *more* probable—though I do not think it *absolutely* probable—that the Pro Slavery Resolution now constituting part of that Platform may be dropped.

It seems to me, then, that there never was so fair an opportunity for Antislavery democrats to work as now. It is certain that they have the convictions of a majority of the people with them, and they are now virtually admitted to be too strong to be proscribed.

We need in Ohio and especially at Cincinnati a liberal democratic press. The Nonpareil is substantially that now, but it is edited upon no fixed plan and is without a chart. Give it an Editor, who would make it a readable paper, maintaining substantially the same position as now, until the Presidential Election shall come on and then giving a hearty support to the candidates of the Democracy or, if the Democracy shall be divided then to the candidates of the Progressive Wing, and I do not see how it can fail to be a profitable concern. If I had charge of it, I would not perceptibly change its present position; but would, very gradually, give it an Independent Democratic character, without distinctly avowing any party bias. I believe in this way it could be made acceptable to its present readers while gaining increased circulation and influence among the democrats. Another consideration, in favor of the paper is that it has the city printing worth about \$1000 per annum.

Now if you can raise the means to pay for the paper—say 1800 cash to meet immediate payments, I will provide in 6 month, or less time if necessary, \$1000 to complete the purchase. Then means could be raised to carry on the paper, until the subscription & advertising should furnish, themselves, the means. I believe you could make the paper

profitable and useful and I shall be extremely glad if you see your way clear to take hold of it.

I do not abandon the hope of seeing you here, but I thought it safest to write at all events.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Feb. 25, 1852.*

MY DEAR SIR, What are you about? I supposed that before this time you would have been established in the Editorial chair of the *Nonpareil*. What is the matter? Please let me know.

Politics here are in chaos. The slaveholding democrats are at swords points—and the non-slaveholding democrats not much more amicable, though they shew less on the surface. The Compromise Measures are the apples of discord. It turns out as I predicted, that these measures have brought a sword and not peace. I still think that Buchanan will receive the nomination of the Balt^o Convention. The Platform, *probably*, will remain unchanged: but this will depend on the question whether the Secessionists or Unionists are admitted into the Baltimore Convention. If the Unionists get in, the Compromises will be endorsed.

The Whigs are looking up. It is pretty certain, I think that Scott & Jones of Tennessee will be the nominees; though Fillmore's chances are far from desperate. Scott & Jones will make a strong ticket. I think the Whigs north & south with inconsiderable exceptions would support it.

We have had a fierce discussion today on the vastly important question whether Jere Clemens of Alabama is the same Jere Clemens he was in 1850 or not. It is yet undecided, Jere having the floor for tomorrow.

Have you seen Webster's New York address? It is great.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, *Mar. 10, 1852.*

MY DEAR SIR, I am very sorry that anything occurred to prevent your purchase of the three shares of the *Nonpareil*.

I feel confident that such an opportunity does not often occur: and yet I cannot say that I should have submitted to the advanced price. I regret that Mr. Abbot thinks of retiring from the paper. I should regard with you his services as very valuable.

There is a Mr. Spofford in Cincinnati of the firm of Truman & Spofford, booksellers, a gentleman of talent, principle, and business qualities, who might perhaps feel inclined to embark in the *Nonpareil* either alone or in association with you. If you still think of the enterprize perhaps it would be well to consult him. I do not know him personally, but have formed a high opinion of him from the reports of others.

Of course, I feel still bound by my promise to contribute \$400 to your expenses for the first year, if necessary.

I think the times very auspicious to the establishment of a democratic paper, which will advocate the doctrines of the Ohio Democratic Platform, and at the same time be a readable sheet in other respects.

The indications are that Cass or Buchanan will be the Baltimore nominee & that the Compromises will be endorsed at Baltimore. In that event, there must be, I apprehend, a rupture in the democratic ranks on the question of the Presidency at least. It should not in Ohio extend beyond the Presidency, if possible to avoid it. A paper which should maintain a firm opposition to a man standing on a Platform opposite to that of the Ohio Democracy, but laboring to preserve harmony in the democratic ranks in relation to state elections, could not fail to exert, if conducted with ability, great influence.

I long to see you again in the Editorial field for which you are so eminently qualified.

We look anxiously towards New Hampshire. Rantoul made a great speech *on our side* yesterday. I will send you a copy soon. He echoed on Slavery my Toledo speech.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, June 28, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR, I received only today your letter of the 15th. I left the city on the adjournment over upon the assembling of the Whig Convention and was detained by the necessity of making some summer arrangement for my daughter who is at school in New York, and whose school has a vacation at this time. I was detained beyond my expectation and only reached the City this morning.

I agree with you in thinking that I cannot consistently sustain Pierce, King, and the Slavery Platform of Baltimore. I have declared my purpose not to do so. What is to be done beyond I am not so clear about. If we could have an Independent Democratic Rally, thoroughly democratic in name & fact, without wild extravagance and without any shrinking from a bold avowal of sound principles, I should support it cheerfully. But a *mere freesoil* rally will simply elect Pierce and, I fear, ensure the indefinite extension of slavery. Can we have such a rally?

We might have had, could we have prevailed on the New York Barnburners to stand firm. Indeed if they had only stood firm we should never have been placed in a situation making a rally necessary. If I had time I could tell you much on this subject. Now without a single New York leader remaining firm what can we do? Whom can we nominate? At present it seems to me that we must endeavor to organize without nominations—upon the Herkimer principle of refusing our support to nominations we cannot honorably support. A Democratic Association with its members pledged to carry out their democratic principles in to practical & consistent application to the slavery & other questions, & refusing their support at this election to Pierce & King, because of their own positions & the character of the platforms they are nominated upon—this seems to me the best present measure. Next we should do what is possible to have a good nomination on a right platform & under the right name at Pittsburgh. If Wilmot and some good western Democrat say Spalding could be nominated for President & Vice President we could get a good vote for

them of the right sort. Hale don't want the nomination. He wishes to be free to canvass New Hampshire.

My impression derived from a journey in New York is that Pierce will not carry that State. The Whigs here are confident that Scott will carry Ohio. What do you think?

I wish we could have the right kind of a Press in Ohio. But where can we get the money. I w^d. give \$500—who besides?

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, *July 19, 1852.*

MY DEAR SIR, I say as usual, "ditto to Mr. Burke." The ideas of your letter are my own. I fear more danger—much more to the cause of Freedom from Pierce's election than from Scott's. Still, if the least dependence can be placed on the professions of the Freesoil Democrats who are supporting him, even he will not be able to do much mischief should the vote for the Pittsburgh nominees prove large & their support warm. Clay writes me the cause moves steadily on in Kentucky: and I think it probable that all the boarder slave states will be represented at Pittsburg, as well as all the Free States. This will make a great impression, & if the vote shall correspond, and the Freesoil Democrats shall prove true, not much need be apprehended even from Pierce.

The present duty seems to be that of putting the Pittsburg Convention on the right ground and under the right name—then getting the right candidates and then giving the largest possible vote. My judgment is that it should assume the name of the Independent Democracy—adopt the Buffalo Platform—modified by the introduction of judicious Land Reform & European Freedom Resolutions—and nominate Hale for President & Spaulding or some other good western democrat for Vice & make the best fight possible. Much has been said to me about receiving the nomination, but my judgment is against it. Hale & Sumner urge me & our friends in the House I think agree with them—that as a Democrat I would carry the largest votes—but I think Hale is good enough Democrat—far better certainly than

Cass or Buchanan or Pierce or King; and I wish to be out of the scrape for many reasons.

I hear from Cleveland that there is a good deal of feeling there against me, & I should not be surprised if there were some in Cincinnati.

You will see my letter to Butler before long. The Herald Correspondent here applied to me to allow its appearance first in that paper, which I consented to thinking it would be read by more of the class I wish to reach, than in any other paper at first. I hope you will approve of it.

I wish very much that you w^d. buy the Nonpareil & put Miller there, or get somebody else to do so. I will cheerfully contribute \$500.

P. S. I want to ask you two or three questions in confidence, and to beg of you *perfectly* frank answers.

Do you think I ought to be reelected? Do you think there is any probability of my reelection; and, in this connection, what so far as you know are the sentiments of the Democrats towards me? What do you think my course ought to be in relation to state politics?

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, Aug 13, 1852.

MY DEAR SIR, I have received the Pittsburg Resolutions and nominations. They create no *sensation* here though much interest has been manifested in the proceedings of the Convention. The general impression seems to be that the whole action of the Convention will help the Democrats. If they had taken the name Independent Democracy, and had adopted no extreme resolutions, the nominations would have made about a fair balance, and the draft would have been about equal from the old parties: as it is it strikes me that the impression here is about correct: but you have better opportunities of judgment in Ohio than I.

For myself I propose to accept the Platform and support the nominations as on the whole as near to my ideas of what is best, as I could expect, not having had the making of

them myself. But I think I shall not sink my individuality in this organization, which it seems to me, must be temporary. I propose rather to maintain my position as an Independent Democrat, just as I have heretofore done, acting with the Pittsburg organization now because it is more democratic than the Old Line.

You mentioned Vaughan's renewed assaults. Is it not about time to carry the war into Africa? If an invitation should be addressed to me, without distinction of Party to address the PEOPLE at Cleveland on my return from Washington I would accept it, and defend myself. I could speak there on the evening of the 4th or 12th. I must be at Cincinnati on the Sixth. Bolton, I suppose would take an interest in the meeting, and, no doubt, others—Riddle, one.

You mention the Independent Democrat and your aid of it. I subscribed \$50. It looks well. I did not like its notice of Vaughan's assaults on me.

Write me and give me your views at length.

I will speak anywhere in the State as an Independent Democrat after the 12th September until the October Term of the Circuit Court, if you think best.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON CITY, *August 27, 1852*

DEAR HAMLIN, You pain me by what you say of your health. I hope it may speedily improve—most earnestly do I hope it. I fear your labors in the canal regions may have affected you: but trust that relaxation and good air will set you up again. You must not neglect yourself on any account.

You are mistaken in thinking I have not fully appreciated the necessity of a Press of the right stamp in the State: I have fully and thoroughly appreciated it. But I am but one laborer in a great cause. I have contributed and am still ready to contribute to its success all of work and money that I can. But I have found little *material* aid and comfort. Most have seemed to think that I, being Senator, might well be left alone to bear all the cost of sustaining papers

devoted to our common views. I should not complain of this were I able to support such enterprises. But as you know my election to the Senate has greatly abridged my income, and my debt, almost intolerably burdensome when I was elected, has not become any lighter since. What then am I to do? I cannot *beg* gentlemen to contribute to a paper, which, they may think and will think, is chiefly important to me. If they do not feel sufficiently interested in the cause, or sufficiently concerned for the vindication of those who are laboring to advance it, to aid in the establishment of a press of the right kind, I do not see how I can remedy the matter. I went so far as to offer \$1500 towards the purchase of the Nonpareil and place it in right hands: but the residue necessary ^{could} not be obtained. I have contributed whenever called on to other papers and really do not see what I could do more than I have done unless I should take the ground that I am to go into political life for the advancement of my own interests and as a speculation and therefore invest the funds necessary in that view—but I never can or will take that ground. I have always put the interest of the cause foremost, and am now as I have ever been ready to surrender all political position and all political personal advantages for its advancement.

I should be really much obliged to you for a frank expression of your views on the subject, and for any suggestion as to what you think I can & should do.

I expect to be in Cleveland on Friday, or, at any rate, on Saturday. I shall not leave before Saturday morning at eleven, whatever may be the time of my arrival. I hope to see you; and would come to Olmsted should I reach Cleveland early enough & you not be able to come up.

I have heard a great deal from Pittsburgh. If those who have maligned me so industriously are satisfied with the results of their machinations, I am.

Sumner's speech yesterday was grand. The Slaveholders & Compromisers felt it keenly. Wade alone of the Compromise Parties voted for the Repeal of the Bill of abominations. Wade *has* done well. I will say that for him—he has never flinched in private or public.

I must close. I have no time to write—excuse my incoherence.

To Charles Sumner.

CINCINNATI, *Sept. 9, 1852.*

MY DEAR SUMNER, I have read as well as heard your truly great speech. Hundreds of thousands will read it, and everywhere it will carry conviction to all willing to be convinced and will infuse a feeling of incertitude and a fearful looking for of judgment into the minds of those who resist the light and toil in the harness of party platforms irreconcilable with justice. Massachusetts *deserves* to lead the van of regenerated Democracy, for she has given to the cause its most faithful and eloquent champion. God bless the old Bay State: Amen.

I found Judge McLean reading your speech. He spoke of it with praise; but thought he had detected you in an error of fact in the paragraph where you speak of the Fugitive Slave clause of 1793 being introduced without much deliberation or [on?] previous occasion. He thought the correspondence between the Governors of Virginia & Pennsylvania & General Washington was in reference to a fugitive from labor; and seemed somewhat reluctant to admit my correction that it related to a fugitive from justice.

At my sister in law's I found her brother who is about to settle in Texas reading the speech to her aloud. I hope he will carry its truths with him.

Our friends in Ohio are in good spirits; and the vote for Hale & Julian will be respectable—not so great as it would have been had there been no conspiracy against me, but still as large, I hope, as that of 1848. Most of the democratic free soilers have been too far alienated by that conspiracy to be immediately brought back. I shall do what I can.

Our State fair will be held at Cleveland on the 15th. I mean to be there, so will have an opportunity to see how the land lies; and will advise you as to prospects.

You ought to carry Massachusetts for the Independent Democracy. *You can* do it if you have *faith* enough and works answerable. I am glad to see that you are going to work in earnest. You must do it. When Douglas, Houston, Cass & other champions of the Compromise Democracy

are traversing the Union for their candidates we cannot honorably fail in our devotion to a nobler cause and better men.

Faithfully yours,

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *Decr. 2, 1852.*

DEAR HAMLIN, Where are you? What are you about? The last I saw of you was that you attended a democratic celebration of Pierce's victory at Toledo. What did you mean by that?

I received yesterday a letter from Bigelow of the N. York Evng. Post (Bryant you know has gone to Europe) asking me to recommend a correspondent at Columbus. He says they are willing to pay a fair price for a letter a week. I named you to him; but expressed a doubt whether you could command the time; but said you would recommend some one if you would not write yourself. Had you not better undertake it? Let me know; and if you cannot recommend some one who will *suit* the *Post*.

People here seem quiet enough. Sumner and Seward dined with me today. Sumner is for *agitation*, Seward for lying low. Benton is here. I had a long talk with him yesterday Evening. He expects a regular setto on Pierce by all the vermin; and fears the result; though he expresses a good deal of confidence in the President elect. Tom Corwin tells me he has authorized the purchase of a residence in Kentucky, & means to leave Ohio! Bailey is well and thriving.

To E. S. Hamlin.

Private.

WASHINGTON, *Feb 4, 1853.*

DEAR HAMLIN, Thanks for your two letters, the last of which was received today.

I do not wonder that some of our friends of the Old Line feel uneasy in relation to our present position. It is a strong one and will be certain to deprive them of the control of the State, unless they are liberal & fair in their

action. There is however nothing in it to alarm any real friend of democratic progress. All the liberals have to do is to pursue a just and conciliatory course towards us, and there will be in Ohio, in less than two years a united Democracy united upon principle and determined to maintain their principles everywhere—even in National Conventions, of which liberal men will be the natural exponents, and which will not only [be] irresistible in the State, but which will give tone to the nation. Judge Burtley in particular, has nothing to apprehend. I regard *his* election as certain beyond any contingency except that of a serious division in the democratic ranks or a repudiation by or in behalf of the Old Line Democrats of their present platform: neither of which events seems to me, at present, very probable.

Our present position, as Independent Democrats, is more useful to the liberals in the regular ranks than our incorporation into those ranks could be.

I was very much pleased with the results of the Free Democratic Convention. The resolutions were excellent & suited me exactly: but how happened it that those relating to myself and Giddings & Townshend were never printed.

Our position it seems to me was never so strong as now. The Dem. Convention (old line) went right and the Ind^t. Dem. Convention, also, went right, and the prospect here seems to be that the incoming administration will be liberal. Our present manifest duty and policy, it seems to me, is to strengthen our existing organization as much as possible.

Here the feeling is very good. Carter says he shall do all he can to secure my reelection. Cable, I am told, says the same thing: and Johnson, of Coshocton, told me today that in his opinion the condition of things in Ohio indicated that result. Giddings expresses himself decidedly and earnestly for me. I do not, however, permit myself to indulge any sanguine expectations. I know how precarious are all calculations of the future: and shall be content whatever event may turn up—so that our cause goes forward.

It is my duty to testify truly as to the wishes of the people of Ohio in respect to a cabinet officer: and I have no doubt that Medary is the choice of four fifths of the Democracy

if not a larger portion. Nor do I doubt that he can make a competent Postmaster General. I should expect from him if appointed an energetic and able administration. Thus thinking, I speak. I know he has not given me that hearing or favor in his paper which he might have done; but I allow much for his circumstances. I am sorry to differ from you in this matter, but the difference is of no great importance, as I have no hand in making cabinet officers. The most I do is to give my honest opinion when asked.

The last statement from Concord is that Cushing, Dix and Medary are certain to go into the Cabinet. The next comer may bring a different story.

I like Manypenny very much and have great confidence in his ability and honesty both. The time may come when I shall be able to serve him, when it comes, *sooner* or *later*, I shall be ready—McLean is an old friend, and a warm hearted, generous fellow. His connection with the Miami Tribe has brought on him some enemies—but more have seized this matter as a means of enabling them to gratify old grudges. Some of those who are opposed to him are, also, very friendly to me. Of course I take no part in the quarrel, but endeavor to conciliate & harmonize.

I do wish you were in the control of the Nonpareil. I hope it may be arranged, and am willing to do my full part towards it at any time.

I have received a number of a German paper at Cincinnati supporting the Free Dem. ticket. Do you know anything of it?

Would it not be an even better disposition for the present of your time and talents to go through the state every where and organize; and especially make arrangements to secure the right kind of men in the Legislature? I have mentioned this matter to Rice & wish it might be arranged through the Committee. I will bear my full proportion of the expense.

I have heard what you write about Wilson. I doubt the extent of his influence at Concord. It is hardly so great as represented.

Medary is here. He has confined himself for the most part to the Agricultural Convention; and will start on his return day after tomorrow.

To Charles Sumner.

ST. LOUIS, *June 13, 1853.*

DEAR SUMNER: I enclose you a part of the St. Louis Democrat, in which you will find a part of the correspondence which will interest you at least as showing that in this Slave State, at least, there is no such prejudice as prevents a recognition, and at a rate vastly beyond their value of services rendered by an Antislavery man. I find in it a most unexpected but most gratifying result of my action last winter, which I prize the more for its ultimate bearing on our great Cause. You would be surprised to find what liberality of sentiment prevails here and especially among the democrats. Most of those I have met avow themselves antislavery men,—some of them most decidedly so.

I am here on private matters; trying to serve two widowed ladies, one of them my niece the other my sister-in-law. I expect to leave for Chicago tomorrow.

Perhaps our cause will be benefited by the republication of this correspondence in the Boston papers. The Commonwealth and Traveller will cheerfully reprint; will not others?

Give my best regards to Wilson and other friends.

Yours truly and faithfully,

To Edward L. Pierce.

CHICAGO, *July 4, 1853.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have just returned from Missouri. Your letter reached me I think at St. Louis. I regret not seeing your brother, or yourself. You have seen that I did not speak at St. Louis and why it was best that I *could* not; I believe the correspondence will do more than a speech would have done.

Chicago is a flourishing place but the total ensemble did not please me. I should prefer Cincinnati or St. Louis to live in.

What would you think of the life editorial and taking charge of a paper here^a or at Chicago? [sic] I am pretty certain you could succeed, and win reputation and fortune as well as at the bar.

Yours truly,

To Charles Sumner.

RAVENNA, *Sep. 3, 1853.*

DEAR SUMNER, I mourn with you over the opinion of Judge McLean; but I expected nothing otherwise. His whole course of judicial action in reference to cases under the act of '93 had prepared me for it. With a kind heart & honest purposes he has suffered his reverence for imagined rights under the constitution to lead him into conclusions from which you & I must ever shrink. Well, we must look to the future!

Prospects in Ohio are as good as could be expected. Nothing can be definitely said respecting the result; but we are all cherishing good hopes.

I have spoken in about twenty counties, and our candidate for Governor, Mr. Lewis, in nearly fifty. The people turn out well and we hope to cast such a vote as will— if not elect our candidate,—at least put an end to triangular contest.

We think much can be done by three great meetings— say one at Cleveland or vicinity— one at Mr. Vernon in Knox County & one at Cincinnati or vicinity. Can you not give us—or me—your powerful aid, say for the last week in this month. The journey & speeches need occupy no more than ten days.

Yours cordially

Answer immediately to Cincinnati

To Edward L. Pierce.

WASHINGTON, *Jan'y 17, 1864.*

MY DEAR SIR: I thank you for little note and for your kind appreciation of my wishes rather than my successes in

^a Whether St. Louis or Cincinnati is uncertain. Mr. Pierce was later in Chase's law office in Cincinnati.

serving you. I am glad you are in Cincinnati, for you are almost the only man in Ohio to whom I confidently look for a real appreciation and sympathy with my views and plans for the advancement of our great and noble cause. The notions of so many are contracted—their aspirations so low—their sympathies so phlegmatic—and what might else be in them noble and generous so turned awry, dwarfed and cramped by the incessant claims of mere business, or the debasing influences of party that I sometimes feel as if I hardly knew where to look for a genuine, whole man on whom I can confidently lean. May I not hope to find such a one in you?

And now with this preface I shall ask you, at once, for a little service. I want you to become acquainted with the conductors of the *Times* and the *Columbian*; ascertain their tendencies, and see whether they are not willing to render me some justice.

About everything I have done for Ohio and the West has been positively ignored. I, first, introduced a successful motion for Custom Houses including apartments for Post Office, Courts, etc. etc. The precedent which I established in the cases of Cincinnati & St. Louis has been followed at other points and now the West begins to receive some share of the Public Expenditures in these respects. I, first, introduced and carried through the Senate a proposition to cede to Ohio the Public Lands within her limits. It failed in the House, no Ohio member taking enough interest in it to secure for it even a fair hearing. Again I introduced the bill in a modified form last session. But the session being short and business crowded & the Committee reluctant, I did not get it through the Senate. I have again introduced the same measure this Session and shall I think get it through. I have a favorable report made yesterday. It now includes all the Lands in the Va. Mil. District, which, under an amendment which I had inserted in a Bill relating to Va. Mil. Scrip, were relieved from the trust in favor of Virginia. Again I introduced and carried through the propositions which have initiated the Pacific Railroad. I might go on; but I won't weary you. Who, in Ohio, knows what I have done? Never, it seems to me, has a man

who was earnestly laboring to accomplish practical good, been more poorly sustained.

I confess it galls me to read such a paragraph as the following from the Chillicothe Advertiser of the 13th inst. [newspaper clipping] "We hope the Legislature of Ohio will elect a Democrat Senator who will give character and importance to the State in the United States Senate. It is undoubtedly useless to express such a hope, for we believe the men of that body to be men who will so act, without reference to personal feelings or outside appliances, as will, in their judgments, conduce, in the largest degree, to the honor of the State and the glory of the Democratic party."

The implication that Ohio has not had a Democratic Senator, who gives character to the State, is in keeping with the course such persons have uniformly pursued towards me.

You know enough of my course and can inform yourself sufficiently in respect to it by examining the Columns of the Globe to form a correct opinion of such an estimate. I desire no comparisons with my predecessors; but I shrink from none.

Now if you can write a few articles and have place further in the Times and Columbian, they will be copied into friendly papers, and do something at least towards changing this current.

If you see Miss Chalfant, I pray you to assure her of my warm regard and kindest remembrances. Has her sister, Mrs. Marshall, returned from California? I hear so; but can hardly believe it.

Yours cordially,

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON *Jan'y 22, 1854.*

MY DEAR SIR, I think you are mistaken in the amt. of my debt to you—it was for one letter instead of two or three when you wrote last, and it is for two now. I am quite willing however that the balance in this account should be decidedly against me, as your letters have much more inter-

est for me than mine can have for you; and besides I am harder pushed than you can be.

I don't feel a great deal of interest in the election of Senator, since our side has nothing to expect. If it could be postponed we should have a fair chance:—as it is, I suppose, we have none though I feel right sure that the time is not distant when men who now vote to have Ohio represented here by a Hunker will rue it as a foolish & unnecessary act.

My great anxiety is to have our friends in Ohio buckle on their armor & go to work to redeem the State. We can do that I am sure if we will & by our means. I think, circumstanced as you now are, you *ought* to reestablish your connection with the press, or at least take up your location in a part of the State where you can advantage the cause—say, Toledo Cleveland or Cincinnati. You ought to resume the Editorial charge of the True Democrat. Wade says he will *give* you his interest of \$1000—I will give you mine of \$200—if an arrangement can be made by which you will become *permanently* interested & Editor. I should think you would feel as deeply as I do on the subject of wresting Ohio from the Hunkers.

The Nebraska Bill is the principal topic of conversation here. What is the prospect of the Resolution on the subject in our Legislature? I enclose the Washⁿ. Sentinel that you may see with what insolence the Editor speaks of our State. It makes me repent my vote for Tucker for printer, & wish I had voted for some one wholly unconnected with the Political Press or for Bailey. It will prevent me from voting to give him the Patent Report to print which he needs much.

Benton says (I dined with him yesterday) that Douglas has committed political suicide. He is staunch against the repeal of the Missouri Prohibition. Gov. Allen, & two of the members for R. I. will vote against it. The Governor has written to R. I. for Legislative instructions, which if they come will fix his colleagues. Mason, of Virginia told Fish that he did not want the Nebraska Bill: he was content that things should stand as they are. Douglas, I suppose, eager to compel the South to come to him has out southernized

the South; and has dragged the timid & irresolute administration along with him.

Won't you write a strong article for the *Columbian* on the Sentinel Article?

Let them know immediately the prospect of the Resolution in the Senate & House. It should be pushed to a vote at the earliest moment.

Tell me the names of the most prominent men of the two Houses, with short sketches of them. Do you know Makenzie? Give me all the information you can. Where is Townshend? What of his wife's health.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *Jan'y 23, 1854.*

MY DEAR SIR: Wrote you a day or two since. Today the Nebraska Bill was called up, but was postponed till Monday. It is designed to press it through the Senate for fear of the awakening of popular indignation. I send you the Bill as *now proposed* to be amended. I send you, also, the original Report [of the] Bill from which you will see how material the attraction is. I also enclose with this an appeal in the *Era*. The signs all indicate Storms ahead.

I am *fully advised* that the amend'ts as they now stand were [made after] consultation with Pierce and that the Administration with a good deal of trepidation has resolved to risk its fortunes upon the bill as it now stands. Many of its warm friends say they are sure to go down upon it. There is certainly great alarm & misgiving. Cass told me today that he was not consulted, & was decidedly against the renewal of the agitation: but he will *vote* with the proslavery side. A personal & near friend of the Presidents called on me tonight & told me that Cass was *excluded* from consultations. They meant to drag him along. Even New Hampshire wavers about supporting the Bill. Maine is in a rebellion, all Rhode Island except perhaps Jones is against it. Every northern Whig Senator without exception is against it; Houston & Benton are against it

I hope the Columbian will [get the] slips of the Appeal and circulate it through the Legislature. *You* [don't] need to be told who wrote it. Please see to having the slips struck off & circulated.

I suppose the Senatorial [question] decided in this time. Feeling no interest in it, since no man can be elected who is not proslavery I only desire to call the attention of the people to a much greater matter. I am sorry to hear that you have electioneered for Manypenny. I like him personally, but I would cut off my right hand sooner than aid him or any other man to reach a position in which he will make Ohio the vassal of the Slave Power.

I shall soon return among the people and I mean to see whether shams will rule forever. I know that the advocates *must* bite the dust *and they shall*

To E. S. Hamlin.^a

WASHINGTON, *Feb. 10, 1854.*

DEAR HAMLIN: Pardon me for my expression of regret. I am glad to learn that you have taken no part in the contest going on at Columbus among the aspirants for my place.

As we have no power to do anything which will give our side advantages, we had best do absolutely nothing. If the election could be postponed we could do much—but I have never *expected* that—never even imagined it possible until the result of the late attempts to nominate—and do not now believe it at all probable, though [illegible] of Cleveland told me some days since that it would be done.

I did better than I anticipated in my reply to Douglas. I knew I could break down his position; but I did not expect to come so near satisfying myself and much less did I foresee the profound attention or the immense audience with and by which I was listened to. I have compliments from all sides in abundance, and am gratified in believing that I have worthily upheld the honor of our noble State.

^a From the Pierce-Sumner Papers.

I would cheerfully add \$2,000 to your \$2,000 for a paper in Cincinnati, or would be one of six to pledge \$5,000 each to be drawn up if necessary.

But if I was about to establish such a paper I would begin with a Weekly—make it first Class—get, say, 113,000 subscribers and then make a daily of that. \$1,000 would suffice to pay the agencies necessary to get \$3,000 subs. and to start the paper, and

You ought to be in Cincinnati; and you ought to be in the Press.

Yours truly,

To E. L. Pierce.

WASHINGTON, *Feb. 23, 1854.*

MY DEAR PIERCE:—Your article had already attracted my attention and I had cut it out for Bailey to print if he could find room, before receiving the *Columbian* with your autograph which revealed to me the author. It is a capital article well conceived and admirably expressed. It makes me regret that you propose to devote yourself to the law rather than to the wider and widening field of journalism. If you would devote yourself to the establishment of a paper in Cincinnati, such as the *N. York Times* in New York, you would in ten or fifteen years have a fortune in it besides wielding an almost uncomputable influence.

Sumner acquitted himself nobly—grandly. His speech satisfied every expectation.^a

We hope to kill the monster; but we want the voice of a great meeting at Cincinnati.

Yours truly,

To E. L. Pierce.

WASHINGTON, *Mar. 12, 1854.*

MY DEAR MR. PIERCE. Your letter is very cheering and consolatory. Here "where Satan's net is", the nearest

^aSumner's speech of February 21, 1854.

sounds are those of denunciation and abuse. With these harsh tones it is very agreeable to hear intermingled the voices of friendship and sympathy.

Sumner was much pleased with your last letter to him, which he showed me. You did not compliment him too strongly on his speech. It was a splendid effort in clearness of historical statement; in beauty of style; and in force of expression unsurpassed by any previous utterance of his; though I must say as I told him that it did not equal, as an argument, his speech against the Fugitive Slave Law.

It gave me real pleasure to read Reemelin's remarks. He is a man of genius, force and knowledge. If he and Molitor side with the Independent Democracy we may hope for great things. If in addition to this [illegible] Day would start a paper!

Thanks for your kind opinion of my speech. It was delivered from notes, written the morning I spoke—though I had given all the time I could command for two or three days to *reading up* and *writing down*. My preparation was very inadequate and I was surprised to get off so well as I did in the actual delivery. Perhaps I was indebted, in fact, for my success to the audience which was very brilliant. For the only time this session the ladies were admitted on the floor. It was corrected from the Reporter's notes on the jump on the Evening after the delivery and the next morning; for I had to dine at the French Minister's that next day and I wanted to have it out Monday. This will account for some defects of style which you must have noticed.

It is rather pleasant to feel that I have done some service in the battle; and to know that the service is appreciated. It is rather strange to me, however, to receive much commendation, having, almost my whole life, been laboring for an unpopular though just cause—unpopular perhaps because misunderstood.

I shall place Mr. Mann's name on my list and send him as well as yourself a copy of a new edition.

We Senators have no copies of the Census Report. I will endeavor to procure you one however.

I regret, very much, to have you say that you are not contented in the office. I hope your discontent is not *with*

the office and that your longings for distant fields will be abated by time. Having acquired you, we must not lose you.

I think of coming to Cincinnati before long.

Faithfully your friend,

To E. S. Hamlin.^a

WASH. Ap. 25, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter reached me yesterday. I wish you would write me oftener.

I feel no great anxiety as to the particular course which events may take in Ohio. If a genuine Democracy can be formed out of the Liberals of the old parties and the Ind. Democrats and nominate a ticket for Judge and Bureau of Public Works I should be glad. If the old Democrats who are resolved to make war on the Baltimore Platform and support in the future no National Candidates committed to its anti-democratic doctrines, can hold a good convention and make good nominations I shall have no objection to support their candidate. If neither of these things can be done, I am for co-operation with the Whigs and giving them the members Bureau of Public Works, and taking the Judge. The Whigs are now where the old Dems. were four years ago, opposed to a Pro-slavery National Administration therefore disposed to be antislavery. As we co-operated with the old Dems, then we ought to co-operate with the Whigs now.

I don't fear their getting the Members Bureau of Public Works this year. Next year we must have the member, and the three parties will then be represented in the Board, which is probably best for the State.

Yours truly,

To E. L. Pierce.

WASHINGTON, May 16, 1854.

MY DEAR PIERCE: I enclose to you a brief which has no merit except simplicity and directness.

^aFrom the Pierce-Sumner Papers.

Many thanks to you for the pamphlet you sent me. I have not yet had time to read it, but shall certainly do so. I read your article in support of Mrs. Peters design with great pleasure, and am gratified you find time for such good work.

Sumner showed me your letter about E. S. I rejoiced greatly to hear of his success. That he should have failed of a good and appreciative audience in Circuit would have been a personal mortification to me.

The Nebraska scheme is on its legs again. Its passage into law is uncertain; it will be determined by superior tactics. *Nous verrons*, as Father Ritchie used to say, when disposed to seem sagacious and to make a parade of all the French the Revolution of '98 ever permitted him to acquire.

Have you seen Derby about publishing that book? I am sometimes spoken to on the subject, and would try to furnish you the material if Derby thinks fit to undertake the publication.

Yours truly,

To E. L. Pierce.

WASHINGTON, *May 21, 1854.*

MY DEAR MR. PIERCE: I enclose a copy of an Address to the People of Ohio with the signatures already obtained. I will telegraph you on Monday or Tuesday the names of other signers and the despatch will reach you I suppose as soon if not sooner than this note.

Please call at once on Col. Schouler^a and have the Address put in type with all the signatures affixed as telegraphed; and have slips furnished to the other papers. If the Gazette folks demur at all to publication—which I do not at all expect, call on some other paper—the Times or the Columbian.

A Public Meeting should be held to denounce the rascality without delay.

Yours truly,

^a William Schouler, the father of the historian James Schouler, was at this time one of the editors of the Cincinnati Gazette.

To E. S. Hamlin.^a

WASHINGTON, *July 21, 1854.*

MY DEAR HAMLIN: It was good to see your handwriting again. You had been so long silent that I almost began to think you had forgotten me, and did not know where to address a letter to jog your remembrance.

I share your disappointment in regard to the outcome of the Columbus Convention,^b and thousands upon thousands throughout the country partake it also. But then, the question is, Can anything better be done than make the best of that? One thing is clear, the Convention have made an issue with the Slave Power, and the people will not let the politicians shirk it hereafter. The determination to restore the Mo. Restriction and the declared opposition to New Slave States will make it impossible to avoid it. We shall thus have free access to the people and all we have to do is to urge our larger and sounder views, and get the intelligent assent of the masses to them. Starting from the Anti-slavery point I do not fear that the new party will not be ultimately essentially democratic. But should it be otherwise one thing is clear—the Old Line Democracy will go beyond it, whenever once whipped into its traces (?) in respect to consistency, in Anti-slavery declarations; and thus furnish to Antislavery democrats a party to their kind. It shall not be my fault if the new party does not become essentially democratic; and you must help me. The day may come when I shall have it in my power to prove my sincere appreciation of your merits; or you may, which I would greatly prefer, be placed by the appreciation of the people, in a position where you can confer easier than receive favors.

It is true as alleged by some that the Antislavery Resolution of the Old Line Democracy is more comprehensively antislavery than the People's Platform at Columbus, but, then it has been neutralized by the endorsement of the Baltimore Platform and nullified by the acts of the Party which put it forth in electing such a President as Pierce and such

^a From the Pierce-Sumner Papers.

^b The first State Convention of the Anti-Nebraska men, July 13, 1854. Cf. note in Schuckers's Chase, p. 165.

a Senator as Pugh^a and in sustaining such Covenant Breakers as Douglas. There is a good hope that the People's Platform will be stuck to, and a little truth honestly received and lived up to, is better than a great deal of disregarded profession.

You see that I mean to go along with the Antislavery movement, in the phase which it has now assumed; keeping a watchful eye upon it that the strength which our votes give it be not abused.

We have confirmed the Japan Treaty. It is a great thing for our reputation to have made the first Treaty with that isolated Empire. Its provisions are important to our Pacific Commerce.

The Reciprocity Treaty is under discussion. I think it will be confirmed.

What do you think of Hunter's substitute for the Homestead bill? I voted for it finally, after the Senate had abandoned the House Homestead Bill, as the best bill there was any hope of securing at this session. Keep me advised where to write you.

Yours faithfully,

To E. L. Pierce.

WASHINGTON, *Aug. 8, 1854.*

DEAR PIERCE, I do not know whether you have a copy of the Appeal of the Independent Democrats. I regard that as the *most valuable* of my works. I expect to be in Concord, N. H., on Saturday night—after two or three days there my course is uncertain.

Yours faithfully,

P. S. I find but one and that so blotted that I fear you can hardly make out the first page.

^aGeorge E. Pugh succeeded Chase as Senator from Ohio. Chase's term expired March 3, 1855.

To E. S. Hamlin.^a

CINCINNATI, Nov. 2, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR: Your enquiry whether I am "aware that the 26th of October is past," must refer to something I have either forgotten or do not understand.

When we parted it was with the understanding that if you would go into the *Columbian* I would contribute to its support \$1,000 during the year either directly from my own means, or with the aid of other friends of our cause.—I expected, of course, as has been the case hitherto to take upon myself nearly if not the whole sum thus pledged.

But I did not then know that the paper would be continued without temporary suspension. I remember saying I wished it could be, but I hardly expected it, as Mr. Rice said he should be and must be absent for some time. I rather anticipated a suspension for some four weeks.

When I returned to the State as far as Toledo I learned for the first time that you had actually gone into the paper. I then expected to be at Columbus before this time; but finding it unnecessary for me to go up when I got home, busied myself with the matter here.

I heard nothing from you when in Illinois, nor did I find any letter here from you, nor did I know where to address you, or I should have written.

Probably your reference to the 26th of October alludes to my expectation, inferred perhaps to you before I went away, of being at Columbus in attendance on the Circuit Court at that time.

I am ready to fulfil my pledge. It is very hard to raise money here and it can't be done except at extravagant rates. I can however pay \$250 in December and \$250 every three months after, if that will answer, or if it is undesirable I must raise the first installment before.

I wish I could see you, but I cannot come to Columbus at this time without serious inconvenience. I have lecture to prepare for Boston— a foolish engagement but which must be fulfilled —and it demands all my time.

Yours faithfully,

^a From the Pierce-Sumner Papers.

To E. S. Hamlin."

CIN. Nov. 11, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR, It is too bad that the failure of the Banks should add to your other troubles; and too bad that, at a time when the principles we have advocated appear to be in the ascendant, there should be difficulty about sustaining the papers whose devotion to them is sure and permanent.

My own services and contributions to the extent of my abilities and means have never been denied and will never be denied to the cause of Freedom or to the papers which sustain it; but I do not see how I can do anything more for the *Columbian* than I promised to when I saw you last. The claims on me, at this time, are many and unusually pressing; but I can let you have the \$250 in December, as I said I would, and if necessary, can give a note at thirty days; but should prefer to avoid that if possible.

As to the Governorship you know my sentiments. I have declared them to you unaffectedly. An endorsement of my Senatorial course by the people of the State would gratify me, but as my actions in the Senate has the approval of my own conscience I can do very well without any other endorsement. If the people desire our friend Brinkerhoff or any other such worthy and well qualified man rather than myself I shall be the last to object to it.

Yours sincerely,

To E. S. Hamlin.

Private.

CIN. Nov. 21, 1854.

MY DEAR SIR, * * * I confess I feel more uneasiness about the probable influences of the Order on our movement than I did when I saw you last: but I still think that it is best not to say anything against them. Wait until it becomes necessary & it may never become necessary. What is objectionable may come itself. Meantime Antislavery men should be constantly warned of the importance of Keeping the Antislavery idea paramount. There is *danger* of its

being shoved aside. They must see that it is not lost sight of. Now even more than ever is it essential that an earnest antislavery tone should be maintained by our [?] & that the [?] should be sustained.

You are aware that for some days past this city has been the seat of a grand American Council. What they call it I do not know; but I am told delegates are in attendance from every state in the Union including Cal^a. There seem great divisions of opinion.

For example, one very intelligent gentleman from Virginia was anxious to have the ideas which we hold denationalization, &c. adopted as the basis of a National party. Others & most, seem to be of opinion that they must steer clear of northern & southern ultraism as they call our ideas there of the Nullifiers. One man is reported to have said that it is as settled they were to cut loose from Free-soilers & Southern. Another that the organization must not in any way attack slavery; and that the [convention] sitting here is in fact the American Legislature whose decisions Congress must follow. Certain it is that Kenneth Rayner of N. C. & E [illegible] Davis of Ky. are here & both leading spirits. Humphrey Marshall is also here or has been & Daniel Allman, prominent friends as you know of Fillmore. Fillmore is talked of among them for the Pres^y., & Davis also. Houston also, but not much so far as I learn. He, by the way, was the favorite of the gentlemen I first named.

These are some of the straws I see floating. They indicate that the current (nationally) will not float as we would wish. But it may in the State.

All we have to do, at all events, seems to me to maintain our principles; act with no organization that dishonors them; cooperate frankly with any which does not; & bide our time. * * *

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *Jan'y 12, 1855.*

MY DEAR SIR, * * * The Old liners, I see have put forth again their motley platform. The way is now clear

for their signal defeat, if the People's Movement can be honorably continued, as I hope it may be. We must not be the first to abandon it; nor must we abandon it at all unless it shall become necessary in order to the preservation of our honor.

If there was a third of the Democrats ready to adopt the Ohio Platform and vote for one, why did they not secede from the Convention and declare themselves not bound by its action when those disgraceful resolutions were passed? Know nothingism can not be worse than Shilly Shallyism like theirs. Apart from the Secrecy in which it [hides] itself, it is infinitely more respectable, for it does not contradict itself.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON, *Jun'y 22, 1855.*

MY DEAR SIR, I am in fault as usual about my correspondence. My only excuse is that I have more to read, write & talk than one man can do.

Your article in the *Columbian* was very bold: bolder than I should have ventured to write. I refer of course to the one in reply to the *Sandusky Register*. It is not, however, at all clear to me that your policy is not the wisest and most safe. At any rate I am disposed to confide entirely in your judgment, so far as the interest of the Ind^t. Dem^c. wing of the Peoples Movement is concerned.

It is disagreeable to me to have the battle for a decided recognition of Antislavery principles & movement by the new organization carried on over my person. The Governorship is only desirable so far as I am concerned as a simple endorsement of my course in the Senate, & especially on the Slavery question, by the People. In other respects the reasons against being a candidate rather over balance the reasons for being one: and I am by no means persuaded that I ought to accept a nomination even if one should be tendered me. Certain it is that I do not wish my name to be the cause of division among the sincere & earnest well wishers of the Peoples Movement. Taking their ideas as

my guides I shall patiently await the course of events for a few months before I determine positively what I ought to do.

Houston is going to Boston. He will probably lecture there on the [last of] this month. He is the favorite of the Massachusetts Kns^a for the Presidency: and I think he will have a chance for the nomination of the order if he does not injure himself in Boston.

It is now certain almost that Wilson will be chosen Senator from Massachusetts. He cannot back out on the Slavery question and his election will be a decided triumph of the Antislavery element in the K. N. organization. It may lead to disruption. It guarantees, I think, against the order being converted into as mere a tool of the Slave Power as the old organizations have been. This, however, is a future event.

I am assured by reliable men in Ohio that there is no possibility of the order there being made proslavery. They may be deceived, but I am sure they don't mean to deceive. Those who write me feel somewhat sore about your course & Bailey's. They think that the tone of your editorials and his is calculated to weaken the hold & influence of Antislavery men, & to make the members of the sides less disposed than they would be otherwise to cooperate with outsiders on the Slavery issue. They think it would be better if you admitted that there was some ground for the [union] of the people against papal influences & organized foreignism, while you might condemn the secret organization & indiscriminate proscription on account of origin or creed. You know best how much weight to give to these suggestions. To me they seem to indicate about the wisest course; but I repeat I am disposed on these matters to confide more in your judgment than in my own.

I saw Judge Myers here. He seemed to think the prospect of election on the Convention Platform rather blue. He said Medill talked of resigning the nomination, but had concluded to hold on, and he seemed to have had the same idea & to have come to the same conclusion. The ticket must be [illegible] unless the Kns determine to claim all the

^a Knownothing.

nominations for members of the sides: in which event the result would be more doubtful. Certainly we ought to do nothing & say nothing calculated to prevent entire harmony of cooperation among all opponents of Sly. & the Slave Power upon fair & honorable principles & terms. So far as I can see there is nothing to be expected from the Old Line Democracy in its present position. It will be time enough to consider whether we ought to act with them when they place themselves in a position which renders such action possible & compatible with our consistency and honor.

I want to write you often & to hear from you often, but I am much pressed for time & constantly interrupted.

To E. S. Hamlin.

WASHINGTON Feb 9. 1855.

DEAR HAMLIN, A much longer time has slipped by without my writing to you than ought; but you know what my situation is & your charity will excuse me.

The papers, which are really hearty against Slavery, are, I perceive, unanimous in urging my name for Governor, & I have assurances from whigs and democrats that if I become the Peoples Candidate there will be large support from the liberals of all sides. I appreciate these manifestations of regard very—very highly. Whatever proximate results may be they bind me by fresh ties to the Cause of Liberty & Progress. There seems now to be little opposition to my nomination except with the inconsiderable number who look with alarm or dislike upon the progress of our doctrine, unless the Kns shall take distinct ground against me. The opposition of the former class may be safely disregarded—that of the latter will probably divide the People's Movement if based on the ground that nobody is to be supported by the Kns unless a member of their order.

Judge Spalding was here a day or two since, and sought a conversation with me in relation to the Governorship. I was very explicit on all points:

1. That the nomination and election would doubtless gratify me as an endorsement of my course & a manifestation of confidence from the People of Ohio.

2. That I could not accept a nomination or be a candidate on any platform which did not represent my convictions. Of course, I w^d. not insist on the expression of all I wished; but the actual expression must be right & in the right direction.

3. That in no case could I suffer my name to be used to divide the opponents of slavery in Ohio; but, in case the Convention should take ground on which I could not honorably act, I should regard myself as having no present work to do in Ohio.

He seemed to have been a good deal under the impression that the Whigs would not support me, because of the events of 1849, & to have inclined to the idea that it would be best to defer to this sentiment & nominate another man: but he left apparently determined to use his influence with us.

Here the members of Congress all seem willing to support me, except perhaps, Campbell. He manifests a disinclination to touch the subject at all. I think he wishes to await the decision of the Kns. It is curious that he, a Seward Whig, should be apparently the chief of the western Knownothings. But strange things are happening now a days.

The elections of the last few weeks have produced a marked effect here. Harlan, Wilson, Durkee, Seward, are all regarded as hot shot from abolition cannon. Then the action of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin has startled the politicians—& the Judges too—not a little—and now even while I am writing comes the election of Trumbull in Illinois—Anti Douglas & Anti Nebraska at all events & an election which in this [illegible] at least a triumph. Everything indicates that the Antislavery Sentiment will [go] on & on to its final triumph now. What part Ohio shall have the next few months will go far to determine.

Write me soon & tell me all you learn. It seems to me you have said enough agst the Kns, and had better hold up. Give them credit for [illegible] in Massachusetts & wait till [illegible] if ever, to renew the combat. My idea is fight nobody who does not fight us. We have enemies enough in the Slaveholders & their aiders.

I write [illegible] about the paper.

To A. M. C.^a

WASHINGTON, Feb. 15, 1855.

DEAR FRIEND. It is impossible for me to change my ground. I went into the Peoples Movement last year heartily and in earnest. I am for going on with it, proscribing nobody who does not manifest a disposition to proscribe us. I shall not complain, if not elected as a candidate for Governor, on any personal ground. To leave me off the ticket would be rather a favor personally than otherwise. If it be done and done honestly for the good of the cause, & not with a view to convert the People's Movement into a simple Know nothing organization, neither I nor any of my friends could object to it. If, however, it should be done merely to satisfy a proscriptive spirit the case would be different. If it should be attempted to impose the K. N. Shibboleth upon all the candidates for public suffrage in the People's Convention;—there might be & would be a duty to perform by those who cannot accept it. For myself I shall be, come what may, true to my antecedents & my democratic faith. I do not seek any position on the ticket. I could not accept a nomination for a Judgeship. Whether I would take any other would depend on the character of the nomination and the platform.

It seems to me that no such other movement as you suggest is likely to occur. Of course I could not participate in any such, unless the course of events should show that those who think & feel as I do are to be rejected by the People's Movement, which I do not anticipate. If that movement should be so perverted from its original objects that we could not net with it, then we should be obliged to shape an independent course for ourselves. It is too early yet to determine what that course should be.

If you would abate something of your tone against the Kns I think it would be wise. Indeed if I were editing the paper I should say little about them. What there is objectionable in their organization will be most likely to cure itself; if you only keep up an intelligent, animated war against slavery, and insist that in the People's Movement

there must be the most liberal toleration of differences of opinion & oposition, with a view to the denationalization of slavery & the overthrow of the Slave Power. Keep your own democratic ideas prominent. Claim toleration & give it.

There is a great struggle going on in the Kn organization between the Anti Slavery & the proslavery element. At present the antislavery element has the advantage. But the elements cannot dwell together. Be patient and time will separate the progressive from the conservative.

Would it answer for you to assume the sole editorial care of the *Columbian*? I suppose Mr. Hamlin would be glad to be released, and in that event you could have the benefit of my contribution to the support of the paper, so far as it should be necessary. I merely suggest this.

A few days ago I received a letter from a prominent Whig in Ohio who asked if Mr. Hamlin was my organ & said that his course in the *Columbian* was injuring me. I replied that Mr. H. was not my organ in any sense, but edited the *Colⁿ*, so far as he edited it at all on his own responsibility and in his own way, I added that I regretted the tone & tenor of the articles in reply to the *Sandusky Register* and on the *Knownothings*. I said nothing about his course injuring me. I saw no evidence of it.

I just mention this because I thought it best you & Mr. Hamlin should be apprized of whatever I do. But do not think that I desire to control you in anything. I will give you my ideas frankly: but you must allow them no weight beyond that which your *judgment* sanctions- none at all merely because they are mine.

Wilson is true as steel on the Slavery question: so are others here. They will break up the order sooner than see it used for the purposes of slavery. You must take the action of these men and the current of opinion in the free states in estimating the probable action of the Kn organization. I do not myself believe that it can be made as proslavery as either of the old parties. Still it occupies dangerous ground in this respect: and we must keep a look out. If they are liberal in Ohio this year I think we may be pretty confident that the movement will liberalize itself ultimately so as to do little harm to anybody. In haste,

To Hon. L. D. Campbell."

CINCINNATI, *May 25th* [1855.]

DEAR SIR: On my return this evening from the East, I find your note of the 18th on my table, and I shall answer it frankly according to your wish.

Last fall the Independent Democrats or Freesoilers entered heartily and earnestly into the people's anti-nebraska movement, animated by the simple desire to redress the Nebraska wrong. They accepted frankly the State Candidates of the 13th July Convention, neither of whom was taken from their ranks. After the election many of them, and not a few also of the liberal whigs and Democrats, anxious that some token of the popular approval of my course as Senator should be given and especially moved, as I suppose, by the consideration that in consequence of the ascendancy of the administration party in the Legislature, I alone of all the earnest opponents of the Nebraska Iniquity from Ohio, could not be approved by a re-election, manifested a disposition to make me the candidate of the people's movement this fall. They were pleased to think, also, that my nomination and election to that office would afford to the friends of freedom throughout the union a most significant indication that Ohio would tread no step backward from the glorious stand she has just taken against slavery and the domination of Slavepower. To the suggestions of these friends I have uniformly replied by an unhesitating avowal of the gratification which such an endorsement of the people would give me, provided I could be nominated and elected without any surrender or modification of my well known principles of political action.

Had I supposed that opposition to my nomination would have been made in the particular quarters in which it has since appeared I should have promptly declined to allow my name to be proposed at all. Nothing but the gratification and advantage of the implied indorsement, and the belief that my election under the circumstances would greatly inspire and encourage the friends of freedom outside of

a From letter-book 6, pp. 190-191 Lewis Davis Campbell, 1811-1882, Member of Congress 1849-1858, United States minister to Mexico 1865-1868

Ohio, could have induced me to consent to the use of my name, and these considerations would not have prevailed with me, had I not supposed that the nomination for Governor would this year be cheerfully conceded to the choice of the distinctive anti-slavery men. As things now are I confess myself much embarrassed, and quite undecided as to the course which duty to myself, to the cause, and to the friends who have honored me with their confidence require me to pursue. One thing, however, seems plain, which is that no duty, whatever, under existing circumstances, requires me to accept a nomination for atty. general or Supreme Judge, and certainly my inclination does not lead me in that direction. For the rest, I can only say that it would be infinitely more agreeable to me to support my old friend Brinkerhoff, than to be a candidate myself, if he could be said at this time to represent the pure element of opp. to Slavery extension & Slav'y domination. But if he is to be forced upon them, and his election taken as triumph of another element, it is obvious that this must have a powerful influence on the course of those with whom the Slavery question is paramount to every other.

To Charles Sumner.

STATE OF OHIO, EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,

Columbus, Dec 13, 1856.

DEAR SUMNER, I long to hear of you at the Capitol, but I long infinitely more to hear of your perfect restoration. At the present moment you are not greatly needed at Washington. Nothing can be done now but to announce principles, & make test questions. A year hence it will be important to have our strongest men in the field. Mr. Buchanan's Administration will then be fairly under way. For that time you should be prepared, &, if need be, reserved. I write this because I see it stated that you propose going to Washington about the first of January. Let me beg you to risk nothing; but to lay aside every care except that of your own restoration. You will of course be reelected. Why not let the present session go, & take a trip some-

where out of sight and as far as possible out of recollection, of disturbing & exciting causes. If your friends think it well, you might resign that your place this session be filled by somebody else. Then be whole for the next session.

My intelligence from Kansas is encouraging. The reasons for believing it will be a free state preponderate more & more. I expect next week the return of a gentleman whom I sent to the territory to ascertain the precise condition & to bear to Gov Geary a letter in behalf of the prisoners, & to them some little relief. I hope the best. But for our *cause*—we must make a deeper issue; believe that right is expedient; be consistent & trust the people. Then I believe will come the day when the Republic, restored to its original policy, will renew her strength & move forward in the fulfilment of her sublime mission, with the applause of all the patriotic & all the good. *Talia sæcla, cunite.*

Affectionately yours,

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, *Jan'y 18, 1858.*

MY DEAR & EXCELLENT FRIEND, Your kind note to me makes amends for your long silence; though, indeed, I never accused you of neglect, and would on no account whatever have had you give one moment to me which would have been taken from time far better devoted to the health-renovation for which so many devoutly pray & towards which so many wishes are most earnestly directed. I welcome joyfully your assurance that “all is surely coming back.” God hasten the happy moment of complete restoration!

Kate was delighted with your New Years memento. It was a most acceptable double autograph, altho one was but imitation—so absolutely like, though, that at first it deceived me. She bids me express her thanks to you, and to say that it almost makes amends for your omission or refusal to write in her album, which she, but a child then, & little more now, took very hard.

We are keeping house now, and she is house keeper. We have a pleasant house and every thing as agreeable as we

can expect. How welcome a guest you would be! Why can you not come?

Your praise of my message gratifies me much. I know it is sincere; and if I satisfy you I am sure no true man ought to be dissatisfied. I sent you one of the first copies distributed, & you doubtless received it very soon after you wrote. I would send one to Lord Napier, if I knew his address, & you would let it be done at your request. The condensed résumé of the industrial condition of Ohio ought to interest a statesman.

As to our future, you reflect my thoughts when you express your regrets that some of our friends & papers should seem to play into the hands of Douglas. What we have seen, heard, & felt of him will make it impossible for us to trust him until after a very sufficient probation,—which he has not the slightest idea of undergoing. In fact he neither expects nor wishes more from us than a suspension of hostilities until his re-election is made sure. I trouble myself little about *him*. I am more troubled by an obvious disposition among many to place our cause on the lowest possible ground—to connect it with the least possible advocacy of principle; and to seek success by means which will make success worse than worthless. “Non in hæc fœdera veni”—*nee veniunt*. I have had enough of it. The party for which I labor must be a manly, honorable, honest, freedom loving party, which has principles & dares assert them, and representatives of its principles & dares sustain them. In hoc signo vincemus; and in no other.

Will you pardon me for saying that I thought you & Hale & others of our friends gave in too readily to the availability idea two years ago. When I left the Senate you expressed to me your wish for my nomination. So did Hale even more strongly a few months later. When I came to Washington after my election as Governor I found you both changed. I did not blame you so far as I was concerned—far from it. I *want* to be put aside when our cause can be promoted by it. But I wished, if not sustained myself, then some other man sustained who had fought battles. You or Hale or Seward would have suited me. Others might also be named though not of the “first three.”

But I never liked the idea of going out of the party & taking up candidates who had never identified themselves with us at all, and asking them to condescend to lead us. It was too much like the seven women of prophecy taking hold of one man & begging to be covered with his skirt. Such a path is not the path of honor or of safety either. When it was resolved to take it, I did not hesitate of course. I do not separate myself from my friends because I think their course not the wisest. I prefer to contend among the foremost, & let it be seen that, if the victory be not won, it is no fault of mine or of those who act with me. But to repeat the experiment of the failure would be inexcusable, nor do I fear it will be repeated. Hence while some are disposed to cry Lo! here! or Lo! there!, I feel confident the common sense of the people will hear and harken to the truer Genius which points to the path of principle & says, This is the way, walk ye in it.

Excuse my long writing. I feel as if I were talking to you. May God bless you & soon restore you to the field where you are so greatly needed.

Faithfully yours

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, *July 16, 1858.*

MY DEAR SUMNER, Your brief parting note came to me like a note of music, sad but pleasant, wafted from the waters. How sorry I was that you were obliged to seek again in foreign lands the great boon of health; and yet I was glad to know that among those last remembered and I hope, last forgotten, was the friend whom you so early cheered in the great struggle for freedom, by your approval & regard. Very gratefully do I remember all your kindness in act and speech, and trust I shall ever show myself not unworthy altogether, by remaining true to the cause for services to which it was the valued reward.

We learn from the newspapers that you have submitted yourself to a most trying operation, and that the physicians give good hope of most beneficial results. Most earnestly do

I hope, in common with many thousand friends of Human Liberty & Progress, that their best anticipations may be fully realized. I am anxious to hear your voice once more in the Senate, *mirum spargens sonum*. I want to see the Oligarchs and Serviles once more cowering under your rebukes of despotism & servility.

It is amazing to see to what depths of baseness some of the partizan presses in the interest of the Oligarchy will descend. Not content with half vindications of the assassination attempted upon you, several have had the infinite meanness to represent you as playing a part all the while you have been suffering from the effects of the assault. When will men learn decency?

Oh! if you shall be only able to take your seat again next winter in your full vigor! There is no one now who hates the army of slavery in its principle as you do. I should except Durkee. Even Hale rather regards its political iniquity as its chief abomination; though far from insensible to its moral evil. Add to Hale, Seward & perhaps Wilson, and I think all the rest are animated rather by opposition to the political encroachments of the Slave Power, than by an earnest desire to inaugurate the deliverance of millions from oppression.

The rise of the Know Nothing Party had a pernicious influence upon the growth of a true Antislavery Spirit. You remember that one of its aims was to be national; and to be national it must ignore the slavery question, or in other words become indifferent as to the progress of slavery in the north while the south tolerated no indifference. Some yielded to this under the idea that the south, or rather the slave oligarchy in the south, would adopt the policy of indifferentism as well as the north. Others adopted the policy because they really felt no opposition to the spread of slavery, & had become accustomed to regard all earnest Antislavery action as fanatical & incompatible with repose. When the American Party became republicanized as in Ohio & some other states, a number of its members refused to vote republican tickets because they believed the antislavery principle represented. Often these men held the balance of power in their particular states, districts or counties.

Under these circumstances politicians soon began to think of conciliating them, and this disposition has induced a number of republican leaders to urge an abatement or modification of our Antislavery creed so as to make conciliation [illegible]. In many cases this policy has disgusted the earnest Antislavery men so much that they cease to cooperate heartily & there is danger of such departures from our original faith that division will take place, seriously affecting our prospects for the future. In Ohio my maxim has been "conciliate, but no abandonment of principle"; and I am happy to say that we have succeeded very thoroughly. At our recent State Convention, held on the ever memorable 13th, we reaffirmed all our articles of faith & at the same time made a ticket which will, I think, render it impossible for them to rally under their distinctive American flag at all. In other States I regret to see a less vigorous maintenance of principle or organization, especially in Pennsylvania & New York. In these States there seems to be a disposition to fuse upon simple opposition to the Administration, often without any & generally with little regard to Antislavery principles. In Massachusetts I fear something of the same tendency exists. I am willing to go as far as any man to conciliate, and would readily concede much for that object, in hope of producing a union of action which will overturn the Slave Power. But it is impossible for us who have so long contended for the denationalization of slavery & the exercise of the legitimate influence of the Government on the side of Freedom, to abandon [?] our great object for the sake of personal advantage, to sundry [?] individuals, or for the sake of simply putting down the present Administration.

I go to Massachusetts next week, if possible. I propose attending Commencement at Dartmouth, where my class is to meet. How I wish I could meet & confer with you. But I must [illeg. pursue?] you across the ocean instead; and I trust you will find time to let me hear from you as well as ability & inclination [sic]. Meantime be assured of my warm & continual affection.

Faithfully

To Charles Sumner.

I send some papers by this mail.

COLUMBUS, *June 20, 1859.*

I mark last Saturday with a white stone, for it brought me, dear Sumner, the most welcome intelligence of your almost assured recovery. God grant that the happy auguries of the present may be fulfilled and that completely. What a terrible experience has been yours! How fiery the ordeal you have been summoned to pass! Let us be thankful that memory cannot renew the suffering, and that the retrospect, while it makes one shudder, also brings a sort of sense of present triumph. How strange it seems that the assassin was so soon & so fearfully summoned to his account; and that he in whose behalf, or rather in whose pretended behalf, the outrage was perpetrated, was compelled so speedily to follow, while God in his wisdom, after allowing you to suffer so fearfully, seems about to restore you to the theatre of your usefulness & fame. Do not think however that I imagine your sense of triumph has in it any touch of exultation over the melancholy fates of your assailant and his uncle. I am sure it has not. I am sure that had it been in your power to reverse the decrees of Heaven's Chancery against them your magnanimity would have prompted the reversal. Your triumph is higher & purer: it is over suffering, over wrong, over misrepresentation—and it is for the cause as well as for yourself.

We have, here in Ohio, engaged in a new battle. Our state election takes place next October, and the tickets of both parties are nominated and the platforms of both have been promulgated. Our Republican Platform takes distinct ground for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act & against the extension of the five years term of naturalization. The occasion of the first was supplied by the recent trials at Cleveland—prosecutions against some of our best citizens for the alleged rescue of a Fugitive Slave, and the refusal of our own Supreme Court to set them free on Habeas Corpus, on the ground that the act is unwarranted by the Constitution—the occasion of the second was furnished by the two years amendment in Massachusetts which raised such a

clamor among the naturalized citizens, and gave rise to such a torrent of accusations against the Republican Party that our Convention found itself obliged to speak out plainly & decidedly. I am glad of it, though great offence is given for the present to some whom I would gladly conciliate at any expense short of the sacrifice of our principles.

Of course I am not a candidate for reelection as Governor. It is generally supposed that if we carry the State Legislature—a result not quite certain—that I shall be reelected to the Senate; and there is a very general disposition in Ohio and several other States to press my nomination for the Presidency as a Western man & on the whole the most available candidate. Our friend Seward will also be urged strongly from New York, and I presume that my friends, if they find that my nomination cannot be carried, will generally go for him as a second choice. His friends will probably make me, also, *their* second choice if he cannot be nominated. Of course I cannot claim to be indifferent when a position which will afford so grand an opportunity for renovation of admn [administration?] at home & of policy abroad, is thus brought within the possibility of attainment, but I *am* certain that I would not imperil the triumph of our cause for the sake of securing the opportunity to myself rather than to another.

I presume you will see our friend Bailey. The prayers of thousands follow him abroad. I earnestly pray that he may find the great blessings of health & strength which he seeks. We are now—he & I—both turned of fifty & no longer young. My general health yet remains apparently unbroken but I feel & observe symptoms which admonish me that my hold on life is not so strong as it was. Kate thinks she must send a few lines.

Good bye—May God bless you.

Affectionately,

To Hon. T. R. Stanley,^a Mc Arthur, Ohio.

COLUMBUS, Oct 25, [1859.]

MY DEAR SIR: We were delighted to hear of your election to the Senate, and I was particularly gratified by your

^a From letter-book 7, pp. 55-56.

letter confirming the good news, and assuring me of your personal good will. Believe me that I value the esteem of such men as yourself far more highly than any office; and only regret, when I compare my knowledge of myself with that esteem, that I cannot feel it is better deserved.

Surely there should be no disagreement between Republicans as to the Tariff. Whatever may be any man's theoretical views of Free Trade, we are all agreed that there is no prospect of the adoption of the policy of unrestricted commercial intercourse by civilized nations during the lifetime of any of us; and no one, I believe, professes the adoption of that policy by the United States without concurrence of other nations. Certainly I do not. I am a practical man, and wish to take practical views of this Tariff question as every other, avoiding ultraism in every direction. I know that we have always had a Tariff. I know that we have never had a horizontal Tariff, unless the Compromise Act of 1833 may be called such. I know that for a long time to come, and perhaps as long as our Union shall endure, we shall have a Tariff. Now, these things being so, I am clearly of opinion that Tariff laws, like all other laws, should be so framed as to do as much good and as little harm as possible; and I am, therefore, in favor of such discriminations as will best secure and promote the interests of labor—of our own labor—and the general well-being of our own people. No man, in my judgment, deserves the name of an American Statesman who would not so shape American Legislation and Administration as to protect American Industry and guard impartially all American Rights and Interests.

P. S. This letter is *not for publication*, for I am not ambitious of the reputation of a letter-writer. But it contains nothing which I do not *say* to everybody who talks to me about the subject to which it relates.

To Thomas Spooner, Esq., New York City.

(Confidential & Private.)

COLUMBUS, Dec 18. [1859.]

DEAR SPOONER: From what you say in yours of the 14th, I infer you had not received mine previously written to you. It was directed to Cincinnati, and perhaps it has since reached you.

I do not desire to be quoted as expressing any opinions as to time or place of holding the Convention, or as to the mode of its organization either in respect to membership or number of delegates—or mode of electing them. The reasons for my not desiring even to *seem* to influence members of the Convention are obvious.

You, as our Ohio member, have a right to my views, and I will give them to you briefly:

1st. The Convention should be held between the Alleghenys and the Mississippi. It would be *best*, I think, to hold it at Pittsburg, Wheeling, Cincinnati or Covington, but *next* best, to hold it at Columbus, Indianapolis, Springfield or St Louis. Among these next best places, my judgment would incline to Indianapolis.

2^d. The Convention should be held *soon* after the Democratic. This, I think, would be best. No considerable harm would probably result, however, if not held till the 17th June, as in 1856.

3. The Convention should be composed of all who are opposed to the extension of Slavery beyond the limits of Slave States, and in favor of reform in National Administration. The call should be addressed to Republicans and all others, without distinction of party, willing to unite for these objects. A resolution should be adopted expressing the opinion of the Committee that the members of the People's party of New Jersey and Penn'a, and all citizens of other States holding similar political principles, are regarded as described in the call and invited to participate in the Convention, but the Call should not be addressed to those parties as such.

4. The Committees should apportion the delegates among

the States by recommending the election of, say, four Senatorial delegates from each State, and one Representative from each Congressional District, and additional representatives from each Congressional District for each six or seven thousand votes cast for Republican candidates, and another for a majority fraction of that number. Votes for opposition or people's Candidates in New Jersey or Pennsylvania, and for Anti-Lecompton Democrats supported by the Republicans, should be counted the same as Republican votes.

5. The Committee should recommend, and strongly recommend, the election of Senatorial delegates by State Conventions, and of Representative Delegates by District Conventions.

I have no time to argue these views. I am, however, strong in the faith that their adoption would secure fairness and equal representation in the nomination—harmony and vigor in the support of the nominees—In what is now a duty—success not merely for our organization but for our principles—success, therefore, lasting and honorable.

Ashley, I understand, will represent Kentucky under Clay's proxy. You can show this letter to him and if you think proper to Mr. Willey or Mr. Howard of Connecticut. Let me hope that you and Ashley will act together. It is desirable, many ways.

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, *Jan'y 20, 1860.*

DEAR SUMNER, There are a few Republicans in the Legislature who think decided opposition—especially of a practical character—to slavery & its domination somewhat heretical, if not fanatical, and they do not like the idea that such a man as I am should be made Senator. They are few; but it has been feared that, if excited to factious action by disregarding altogether their wishes, they might be able, with the aid of the democrats, to defeat an election. I doubt whether they would do so in any event; but it was probably wisdom to give them no pretext. At least the majority thought it best to give them time; and accordingly the nomination was postponed to Feb. 1, when it will doubtless be

made, & the election will follow very soon—perhaps the next day. There are no indications of serious opposition.

It gratifies me exceedingly that the true & earnest friends of our cause—among whom I count you chief—seem to desire so much my return to my old post. I confess however that I have myself little or no desire to return to it. I weary of political life & strife. Nothing but the clearly indicated will of the Republicans & especially of the most earnest & faithful among them would induce me to think of entering it again. Even that higher post to which you alluded would attract me less by its distinctions than it would repel by the apprehensions, which its responsibilities must awaken, of failure in effecting that elevation in tone, object, & action at home and abroad, which alone makes change of administration desirable. It would be a great thing indeed to reform administration at home; to infuse it with the spirit of liberty, justice, & equity; to enable our diplomacy to fill its posts with men whose hearts are sound as their heads; & by these means add dignity to national character & permanence to national institutions. But who, knowing himself & knowing the time, will dare to promise himself that he can do this?

Cordially & faithfully,

My little Nettie has learned to admire you as much as her sister Kate. Your picture hangs in my dining room & in my library, and they think of you as a near friend.

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, *Feb. 14, 1860.*

DEAR SUMNER, Your congratulations, if not among the first, were by no means the least welcome; for I know the sincere & noble heart from which they came.

But I feel no pleasure in the thought of returning to the Senate. If circumstances warrant me in so doing I shall prefer to resign without taking my seat. These are days of too much concession to suit me.

We all remember you with love and admiration. Your

picture hangs alone in my library over a framed autograph of Charles Carroll. It hangs with others, all of earnest men, in my dining room. I put them all up when I first opened my house, as a defiance to the proslavery men who would resist or debase republicanism—as symbols of my faith and my purposes.

Why should Seward retire from the Senate? Is he certain of the nomination at Chicago? I do not so read the signs exactly; but I shall not be disappointed, if such shall be the event. I look upon him as a great man, faithful to the cause of freedom & humanity, & worthy of any honor which can be conferred upon him. We don't agree in some views, but I should be ashamed of myself, if I could be moved to undervalue or deery him. On the contrary I heartily honor, & cheerfully praise &, if the Republicans choose him as their standard bearer, shall zealously support him.

Cordially your friend,

To Joseph H. Bennett, Esq.^a

COLUMBUS, May 30, [1860.]

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter of the 22^d reached me some days ago and I thank you for it. I have never doubted your friendship. You have given proofs of it when it was important & timely.

But you will pardon me, I hope, if I am entirely candid. It does seem to me that there are influences about the Gazette Office which are, *without any reason*, unfriendly. Before your return from Chicago a paragraph was copied from the Times of a very mean character—the object of which seemed to be to depreciate & vilify Elliott & Mullett and through them to disparage me. Now whatever may be said of the discretion of some of the acts and words of these gentlemen, they are undoubtedly active, earnest and hard-working Republicans and as such deserve recognition and respect. That they are friends of mine is, I hope, no crime. I am sure it is not in your estimation. I shall be sorry to

^aFrom letter-book 7, pp. 66-68.

think it is in the estimation of any of those connected with the Gazette. They *are* friends and I am grateful for their friendship. It was given early—from no personal motives.—and has been long continued. It is earnest, sincere and faithful. It does not make me responsible for all they do or say, or require my approval of all or any of their sayings or doings. But it does require me to reciprocate their good will; to give them credit for honorable motives; and to desire that they have like credit with others. Hence I was so sorry to see that article in the Gazette. I saw no good to come from it—but harm rather.

And to-day I find in the Gazette an extract from some correspondent which says that "Guthrie is playing the part of Chase at Chicago, who really had no chance but would not allow his state to vote for any but himself." Is it right to give such a reference to me a conspicuous place in the Editorial columns of the Gazette? It *may be* that I *had* no chance at Chicago; but I suppose that nobody doubts that had the Ohio delegation manifested the same disregard of personal preferences, which was exhibited by the New York, Illinois and Missouri delegations, and given to me, as the nominee of Ohio, the same earnest and genuine support which was given to Mr. Seward, Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Bates by those delegations respectively, that my vote on the first ballot would have largely exceeded Mr. Lincoln's; and there are those who felt themselves constrained to vote for other candidates in consequence of the division of the Ohio delegation, who do not hesitate to give it as their judgment that had our delegation acted towards me in the same generous spirit which was manifested by the other delegations towards the candidates presented by their states, the nomination would have been given to Ohio. Be this as it may—and I am not at all sorry that the nomination fell to another since that other is so worthy—the fling of the correspondent is as ungenerous as it is injurious. No man knows better than you that I never sought to prevent the delegation from voting for anyone but myself. All I desired was unity and good faith. True I wanted no merely complimentary vote. When the Republicans of Ohio nominated me they contemplated no such child's play,

hiding something; not much like child's play, for such play under such circumstances cannot be innocent. You saw, I presume, my letter to Mr. Eggleston. It expressed my real sentiments. The Convention had named me in good faith. There was no such reason to suppose that I could not be elected if nominated, as would make an earnest effort to give effect to the preference of the Ohio Convention, unpatriotic. Justice to me, I am not afraid to say *that* boldly—justice to me, no less than good faith to the Republicans of Ohio, demanded such—an effort. It is useless to discuss the causes why it was not made. Far however from desiring to control the delegation or any member of it in adhering to me, I should never have allowed my name to be presented at all had I anticipated the division which actually took place; so that in this as well as the other respect the allegation of the correspondent is as unjust as it is ungenerous. I repeat the expression of my regret that such things get into the Gazette.

I am ready to join with you in “endeavoring to remove all the old roots of bitterness growing out of diverse antecedents.” Such, in my administration of the State Government, was my constant endeavor. The result is seen in the present union and strength of the Republican Party in Ohio. Last winter and at Chicago however more of those “roots” were served up for my entertainment than suited either my palate or my digestion. I trust that as little similar entertainment may be offered hereafter as possible.

To Charles Sumner.

COLUMBUS, *June 11, 1860.*

MY DEAR SUMNER, Your great speech came to me, under your frank, this morning. I had read it all—in the “Bulletin” of Phila. in the “Times” of N. Y. and in the “Globe”—before I received the pamphlet copy. It is gratifying to know that the N. Y. Herald also prints it, and that, through various channels of publication, it will reach every corner of the land, “cogens omnes ante thronum.”

“C'est prequ' [sic] un discours antique,” said a French gentleman to me last Saturday. I say, C'est bien plus.

Faithfully yours,

To J. D. Baldwin, Esq., Worcester Mass.

COLUMBUS. Aug 20th [1860]

DEAR SIR. Yours of the 11th reached me yesterday on my return from Michigan; & I hasten to thank you for the expressions of regard & confidence which it contains.

It would be a vain attempt were I to try to correct all or a very small part of the misrepresentations or misconceptions of my views which find their way into the Press: & I do not think it worth while to make the effort in respect to these to which you call my attention.

Fortunately I have no new opinions to express on any question connected with Nationalized Slavery. In my speech on Mr. Clay's compromise Resolutions in 1850. I distinctly stated my views in respect to legislative prohibition of Slavery in Territories. You will find this speech in the Congressional Globe Appendix, 1849-50, and this particular question discussed on page 478. I reaffirmed the same views in the Nebraska-Kansas Debate; & I have seen no occasion to change them. They are now substantially embodied in the Republican National Platform.

In respect to the organization of Territorial Governments I think Mr. Jefferson's plan of 1784 the better plan. It contemplated the prohibition of Slavery, as did the plan subsequently adopted, but it left more both in Organization & Administration to the people. The great objections to the "Territorial bills" of last winter, to which you refer, were in my judgment that they *did not* contain so distinct and explicit prohibition of Slavery, & that they *did provide* for the appointment of Territorial Officers by the Administration; which was equivalent to giving them pro-slavery Governors, Judges &c. To these bills I certainly preferred Mr. Thayer's Land District Bills: & I should have preferred bills framed on the plan of Jefferson, but with larger freedom of Legislation, to either.

I regret very much to hear of the feeling which exists in the Worcester District in regard to Mr. Thayer. I have but a slight personal acquaintance with him, but that

^a From letter-book 7, pp. 68-70. John Demison Baldwin 1809-1883; journalist at this time, owner and editor of the Worcester Spy; member of Congress 1863-1869.

acquaintance impressed me with a belief that he is sincere, earnest, & able. He has certainly rendered great service to the cause of Freedom. His plan of Organized Emigration contributed largely to save Kansas from Slavery. And if he now pushes his ideas too far in the direction of *absolutely unlimited control* by the settlers of a territory over every matter within their own limits whether national in its reach & consequences or not, it should be remembered that nothing is more certain than that the ripening convictions of the people favor—not the substitution of Presidential Intervention for Slavery, in place of Congressional Intervention against Slavery, which is the sole achievement of the Douglas Nebraska Scheme—but the admission of a far larger measure of true Popular Sovereignty,—fully harmonized with the fundamental principles of Human Rights, in the organization of Territorial Governments.

I write this for your own satisfaction, & because your kind letter calls for a frank response; I do not write for publication: because no opinions of individuals at this time are important enough to be thrust before the public. We are engaged in a great struggle upon a great issue fairly joined through our National Convention. God forbid that any personal strifes should endanger the Cause! Let us gain the victory; & I am sure that there will be then no difficulty in so harmonizing views, by honest endeavors to satisfy each others reasonable demands, as to secure that after success without which the preliminary success at the November Polls will be of little value.

To George G. Fogg, Esq.^a

COLUMBUS Nov. 10, [1860]

MY DEAR FRIEND, There is no one whom I would more willingly “entrust with my views and feelings” on any subject than yourself. No man, in my belief, better deserves the confidence of the true friends of the cause which

^aFrom letter-book 7, pp. 71-72. George Gilman Fogg, 1815-1881; editor Manchester (N. H.) Independent Democrat, 1854-1861, member of Republican national committee, 1856-1864; United States minister to Switzerland, 1861-1865; United States Senator, 1866-1867.

has just triumphed so gloriously through the election of Mr. Lincoln.

Your "apprehensions" that I "do not desire the place" you speak of, are well founded. I appreciate beyond my capacity of expression, the sentiments of regard and confidence which Mr. Lincoln has expressed towards me. To manifest, in some measure, that appreciation by an honest, faithful and unselfish support of his administration is among my most cherished wishes. One wish only more occupies my heart—that his administration by its fidelity to the principles of the great and noble party which has elected him may ensure the permanence and permanent ascendancy of the organization and thereby the welfare and happiness of the country.

It would be most agreeable to me to render what help I may to the attainment of these ends in a station absolutely private. My duty to my brother Republicans of Ohio, however, requires me to take the part they have assigned me, and, as one of the Senators from this State to labor for the advancement of the cause they love. I have no political objects or aspirations beyond the simple performance of that duty.

Besides this, I know I have not the sort of ability necessary to fill the position you refer to, as it ought to be filled. The best I could do would be a mere approximation to what I think ought to be done.

My wish, therefore, is to make no change of position; but to give to Mr. Lincoln, in the place my State has directed me to take, whatever aid a true personal friend and faithful supporter of the common cause can give, in carrying on the government.

Such are my views and feelings candidly expressed. I can not, therefore say that I will take an administrative "post if offered under circumstances entirely agreeable." Such an offer would, however, doubtless, impose on me the duty of carefully considering, with the advice of judicious friends the question of duty, and I should not, I hope permit any considerations purely personal to prevent me from taking that course which public obligations might seem to require.

To Charles A. Dana, Esq.,^a New York.

Private.

COLUMBUS, Nov. 10. [1860]

I do not know what to say in reply to your wish that I may go into Mr. Lincoln's cabinet, except to thank you for the implied appreciation by which I am ashamed to confess myself not the less gratified, however conscious that it is beyond my deserts.

Certainly I do not seek any such place. I greatly prefer my position as Senator, & would indeed prefer to that a private Station could I now honorably retire.

For, of the great objects which first constrained me into political life, one, the overthrow of the Slave Power, is now happily accomplished and the other, the denationalization of Slavery and the consequent inauguration of an era of constitutional enfranchisement, seems sure to follow,—so that I do not feel any longer that I have “a mission,” & therefore allow myself to grow somewhat weary of the harness. But for the present I cannot get unyoked; and must work on a while longer.

And I greatly prefer to work in a Legislative rather than in an administrative position. It is more pleasant on many accounts. Still I do not say that I w^d refuse the post you refer to. Indeed it w^d be rather superfluous to decline what has not been offered. Neither do I say that I would accept it:—but only this:—that if the offer were made, without any urgency on the part of my friends and under circumstances otherwise agreeable to me, I should feel bound to consider it honestly & carefully, with the help of the best advisers I could consult, & should be governed in my decision, not so much by my personal inclinations as by my obligations to the cause and its true & faithful friend.

I thank you for giving my Covington Speech a place in the Tribune. It has attracted a good deal of attention & will, I hope, do some good.

Give my best regards to Mr. Greeley,—who will, I trust, now find appreciation in some measure proportioned to his pub. services—and to your other colaborers. How *your* work shames *ours*.

^a From letter-book 7, pp. 72-73. Charles Anderson Dana, 1819-1897; editor; managing editor of the Tribune, 1849-1862; Assistant Secretary of War, 1863-1865; editor New York Sun, 1868-1897.

To Hon. Henry Wilson,^a Washington.

COLUMBUS, Dec. 13, [60.]

DEAR WILSON, You will not I trust think me obtrusive if I give you briefly my thoughts concerning the duties of the hour.

Departure from the original policy of the gov^t. conc^d. Sl^y is the cause of our frequent dangers; return to that policy is the true remedy.

But this remedy cannot be applied by Republicans until they come into power. Its principal elements then will be, I think, maintenance of the union & enforcement of the laws against all opposition, by temperate but inflexible action; adhesion to the great principle of separating the Fed^l. Gov^t. fr Sl^y.; & manifestation of goodwill, real, unaffected goodwill—toward the slave States, & their people, by every concession consistent with adhesion to principle.

Under this last head of concession may be included such legislation as will provide compensation for escaping fugitives, if pursued, arrested, & proved to be such by the claimant, and means of settling them in Hayti or elsewhere,—or an amendment of the Constitution giving to the Slave States representation for their entire population in consideration of the abrogation of the Fugitive Surrender Clause.

But I expect the Republicans can do nothing in this way until they become responsible, under the recent decision of the people, for the Administration of the Gov^t.; and all attempts, on their part, to do anything, under existing circumstances will, I fear, prove unfortunate.

If my humble counsel might prevail I would say, Let Republicans simply insist that the actual Admⁿ. do its duty in maintaining the just authority of the Fed^l. Gov^t. & in enforcing the laws of the Union; let them hold the Pres^t. & the Party wh. elected him to their entire responsibility; let them proclaim their own purpose, when in power, to administer the Gov^t. *fairly, honestly, & FIRMLY*, in a spirit of true goodwill & perfect equity towards every section, every state,

^aFrom letter book 7, pp. 77-78. Henry Wilson 1812-1875. United States Senator from Mass. 1855-1873, Vice-President of the United States 1873-1875.

& every citizen without entering into any detail in regard to propositions to be made or measures to be adopted; and finally let them give an earnest of their readiness & ability to do their duty by urging as promptly as possible the consideration of the practical measures, *now* demanding the action of Congress.

Among these measures the most important seem to me to be these:

1. The admission of Kansas. Why cannot the Senate take up & pass the bill for her admission without delay—at least before Christmas? That w^d. do much to inspire confidence in its ability to meet the crisis.

2. The passage of the Tariff Bill. Whatever may be the defects of Mr. Morrill's bill—I have not studied it & do not know that it has any—it is clear that some measure must be adopted to revive the sinking credit of the nation; and this bill will certainly contribute to that result. A Treasury note bill without a Tariff bill is a dangerous experiment. The two together may answer a good purpose.

3. Provision for an Early election of Congressmen in States where no elections have yet been held; & for their election on the same day hereafter.

Why not provide for their election this year in March, on the day of the New Hampshire election, and in future years on the Tuesday following the 1st Mon. of Nov. which is now the day of the Pres^l. election? The Pres^t. & Congress all to be elected on the same day.

4. The homestead bill. It has already passed the House. Why not take it up & push it through the Senate?

5. Whatever laws may be necessary to enable the Pres^t. to overcome forcible resistance to the execution of Existing laws. When I say forcible I do not mean peaceful resistance through judicial action. It must be an extremely extreme case wh. will warrant fed. interference, by force, with the action of State tribunals, through Habeas Corpus or other process. But whatever legislation may be necessary—and the message indicates the want of some—Should be provided & provided at once.

There may be other measures wh. need prompt action but these *five* are most prominent in my mind.

If the Repub^l. in Cong. will address themselves vigorously to this course of action and then let the country see that they have the dispoⁿ. & abil^y. to meet the need & perform *the duty of the hour*, they will inspire gen^l. confidence & prepare the success of the incoming admⁿ.

Weak concession will accomplish nothing, intemperate denunciation will accomplish nothing: manful discharge of present duty, with little talk and no delay, will accomplish much—I hope everything.

To Hon.^r T. Stevens.^a

COLUMBUS, O. *Jan'y. 9. [61.]*

MY DEAR SIR. Your note came when I was in Springfield at Mr. Lincoln's request. I arrived after your Pennsylvanians had all gone. Mr. Lincoln conversed frankly & fully. *He is a man to be depended on.* He may, as all men may, make mistakes; but the cause will be want of sufficient information, not unsoundness of judgment or of devotion to principle. It is the business of Republicans occupying responsible positions or possessing in private stations, the confidence of their fellow citizens, to give him that information which is indispensable to right conclusions.

I am glad to find your course in opposing concessions of principle approved throughout the North west. Why can't Republicans await the coming in of their own administration, and then act generously as well as justly.

I shall always be glad to hear from you & you may be sure your confidence will be respected.

To Hon. M. Sutcliff,^b Cincinnati, Ohio.

Private.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT,

May 1, 1861.

MY DEAR JUDGE: I thank you for your letter. The response of the States to the appeal of the Government is,

^a From letter book 7, pp. 79-80. Thaddeus Stevens, 1792-1868. Member of Congress 1849-1853; 1859-1868.

^b Lent by Mr. Homer E. Stewart, Warren, Ohio.

indeed, most gratifying. Maryland, you will see, is rapidly returning to her loyalty. Kentucky and Missouri, I hope, will not be far behind her. You may be very sure there will be no negotiation with the Disunionists, though the return of the States which have been precipitated into disunion to their loyalty will be hailed, of course, with pleasure. The most energetic measures our means allow will be taken, and I think all impartial men will in the end be satisfied with the course of the Administration.

I thank you personally for your kind expressions towards me, and I hope you will never have occasion to withdraw your confidence.

My despatches to the Western Collectors, I see, have produced their intended effect, though they were not exactly what they ought to have been, in as much as no clearances are required on Western waters. Instructions will be forwarded immediately to all Collectors to prevent, by all proper means, shipments of arms, munitions, provisions and other commodities to States now in hostility to the Union.

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PART IV. LETTERS FROM GEORGE S. DENISON TO SALMON P.
CHASE, MAY 15, 1862, TO MARCH 21, 1865.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

General Butler entered New Orleans and established there the headquarters of the Department of the Gulf on May 1, 1862. From time to time various military expeditions were sent to points in the neighborhood; the most important, however, were those sent to Texas and the Red River, to Baton Rouge and Port Hudson. General Butler also from the first undertook the administration of civil affairs in New Orleans and the district immediately surrounding, appointing Brig. Gen. George F. Shepley to be military governor of the city. On May 12, President Lincoln raised the blockade and opened the port of New Orleans to trade. It was in consequence of this proclamation that those duties arose which Mr. Denison was appointed to perform. By the middle of August, General Shepley had been appointed military governor of the State of Louisiana and had begun the exercise of his functions, after personal conference with the Administration at Washington. By that time also those who wanted to know had already found out that President Lincoln was anxious to have the State "take her place in the Union as it was, barring the already broken eggs." (Letter to August Belmont, July 31, 1862; Abraham Lincoln, Complete Works, Vol. II, p. 217.) Between the preliminary proclamation of September 22 and the election held by order of the military governor for the choice of two Congressmen on December 3, there is something more than a mere chronological connection, and the Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, exempted parts of Louisiana, including New Orleans, from its operation. Some of the civil and military officers and some of the native Louisianians were exerting their

influence in favor of a free State, if not of general suffrage regardless of race. But there were others trying and planning to restore the State without jeopardizing slavery. Such conflict of purposes among the nominally loyal, under the circumstances, retarded reconstruction. At length, early in 1864, General Banks declared the constitution of 1852, except the slavery clause, to be in force and called an election for the choice of State officers. The officers were duly elected and installed, but Governor Hahn also received a supplementary commission from the President as military governor of the State, succeeding General Shepley. A constitutional convention was held and a free-State constitution was adopted in due time (September 5, 1864). But the movement failed to command the respect of the community. It bore the marks of outside influence, and it had been brought to pass by the agency of men among whom were many whose conduct had not been dignified and reassuring. But presently local antagonism turned into local support. The offices were filled by men acceptable to local public sentiment, but not to the sentiment that prevailed at Washington. The reconstruction acts of Congress put an end to this State government in March, 1867.

WASHINGTON, *May 15th, 1862.*

SIR: In compliance with your request, I give you a sketch of my life during the last eight years.

I graduated at the University of Vermont in 1854. My Father died in the year 1848, leaving property only sufficient for the support and education of the younger children of the family, for which reason I thought best to borrow money for the expenses of my own education.

I went to Texas in November 1854, and taught a school in the city of San Antonio for nearly three years with success, thereby paying the indebtedness just referred to.

In 1857 I married Mrs. Cordelia M. Forsyth, a lady born in the North, but whose residence at time was near Pensacola, Florida. Her property was large, including about seventy negroes. We settled in San Antonio where I bought property and commenced studying Law. A little

less than one year after our marriage my wife died leaving me a son but a few days old. Not desiring that my child should be reared in the South, I brought him North when somewhat more than a year old, and placed him in the care of my relatives in Vermont, where he now is.

My time not occupied in the study of my profession, was fully taken up in the management of my wife's estate, until July 1860, when I went to Mexico, and traveled over a large portion of that country on horseback, going almost to the City of Mexico. I brought back two hundred horses intending to establish a stock ranch. On my return in December the country was already in confusion, and fearing the great troubles which have since occurred, I sold my stock, and since that time have been occupied in arranging matters so that I could honorably leave the country. My great object was to protect my child's interest in his mother's estate—an object which is secured, if rebels observe even their own laws.

I was in Pensacola when the property there of the United States was captured by the rebels, and, returning to San Antonio two months afterwards, was in considerable danger on account of writing articles for a Union newspaper which was destroyed soon afterwards by a mob, the Editor escaping to Mexico. Since then, I have been offered frequently, a commission in the rebel army, if I would join them.

On the 18th. of last February, I left San Antonio in company with Col. Bomford and two other officers of the United States army, prisoners of war, who having been exchanged, recently arrived in this city. At that time we had heard of no important victories of the Union arms, and imagining that the Government needed the services of every truly loyal man, I desired and expected to join the Army of the United States.

Traveling through New Orleans, Corinth, and East Tennessee, I reached Richmond, hoping by the aid of influential friends there, to obtain permission to pass the lines. This was refused, and I was directed to return to Texas. In East Tennessee I left the railroad, and, guided by Union men, walked through woods and over mountains, to Richmond,

Ky., a distance by the circuitous route travelled of about two hundred miles—and reached home in April.

It is not improper for me to say, that I am familiar with the people of the Southwest, their opinions and habits of thought and action. I have seen Slavery in all the Southern States, in all its conditions and aspects, and am now fully satisfied that its influence on the best interests of the country, is everywhere disastrous.

NEW YORK, *May 1862.*

SIR: You desired me to put in writing the statements made to you by me while in Washington. In compliance with that request I have the honor to submit the following. The printed portions were written by myself.

WESTERN TEXAS.

A very large portion of the population of Western Texas continue loyal. In Austin (the Capital) three-fourths of the residents are loyal, and dare express their sentiments openly. In most other places any expression of opinion favorable to the Government is not tolerated. The Germans can be relied on almost without exception.

It is important that Western Texas should be made a Free State, and it can be accomplished. It is important because, thereby, the Slave States will be surrounded by the Free, and the slave power be rendered incapable of extension. They now hope to acquire some portion of Mexico for slavery, and while they hold Western Texas, will not cease to strive for that end. Hence, from its geographical position, Western Texas, is more important (with respect to slavery) than any other portion of the United States. It is very healthy, adapted to white labor, and but few slaves are there. In most portions of that country slave labor is not profitable, and, among others, the Germans are well known to be opposed to it. Among the leading Union men are Ex-Governor Pease, Judge Norton (editor of the *Intelligencer*) A. J. Hamilton (former member of Congress) and Judge Paschal—all of Austin. I cannot say whether they desire a Free State, but most Texas loyalists would do anything

for the sake of the Union. Mr. Charles Anderson is perhaps the best man the Government could select for a high *civil* position. He is well known there, is popular, able, eloquent and fearless, and his recent persecution by the rebel authorities enlisted the sympathy of all Union men, and of some others.

Col. Bomford was made prisoner of war by Gen. Twigg's surrender. He has been exchanged and is assigned to the 16th. regiment of Regular infantry—is a graduate of West Point—was distinguished in Mexico—has been stationed several years in Texas, and, I understand, has recently been highly recommended by Gen. Scott for an appointment of Brigadier. He is a fine officer, and thoroughly familiar with Western Texas, its resources, forts, road, etc., the character of the people and their method of fighting.

“Sibley's Brigade” contained about Twenty seven Hundred men, and went to New Mexico. There were some respectable men in it, but most were ruffians and desperadoes, and all would fight well. Most of them were armed each with a double-barrel shot-gun and navy revolver, though some had minie muskets (stolen from U. S.) or common rifles, and four companies had nothing but unwieldy lances. For artillery they had nine mountain howitzers. These were all mounted men, and were joined in Arizona by Col. Baylor's regiment numbering seven hundred, and provided with other artillery (ordinary brass field pieces). I should think there were in February last, about 1,000 men at the various forts in the Indian country, some or all of whom, I understood were to be sent on to reinforce Sibley. The colonels of the regiments serving under Sibley are Riley (formerly of Ohio) Green (formerly of Tennessee), Steele (formerly Capt. U. S. Army), and Baylor. They were insufficiently supplied with provisions—nor did they have sufficient ammunition—for so long an expedition. I have frequently seen Sibley's Brigade, and what I say about it, is reliable.

In February last, there were about Seven Thousand men around and between Galveston and Houston. Fortifications (field works) were prepared near Galveston, and they had considerable artillery there, including a few siege guns said to have been brought from New Orleans. There had

already been sent out of the State (*as I was informed*) Thirteen to Fifteen Thousand men besides Sibley's Brigade. I was told by a Rebel officer that Thirty Two Thousand men were then under arms in Texas, including troops at Galveston, Houston and Brownsville. I think his statement greatly exaggerated, though he included all the home-guards, organized militia, etc., most of whom are poorly armed.

There were at or near Brownsville eight or nine hundred men. Fort Brown is near the town and contains eighteen guns, as I am informed. They also have four or five mountain howitzers and at least one battery of field pieces. Matamoras is opposite Brownsville, and the Rebels have organized quite an extensive trade there. Vessels sail for Matamoras and land their cargoes at Brownsville. These two towns are twenty or twenty-five miles from the mouth of the Rio Grande. Large amounts of coffee have been imported from Mexico through Brownsville and sent to Eastern Texas and Louisiana. Many officers of the regular army have heretofore been stationed at Fort Brown and know all about it. It is said not to have been much strengthened by the rebels.

Mr. George Giddings of San Antonio was proprietor of the San Antonio and San Diego overland mail line. Early last winter he was appointed, by Jefferson Davis, agent to receive and collect all cotton contributed in the Southwest, for the Confederate government. It was said that he also received a large amount of Confederate money with which to buy cotton. It was said—and believed by all—that he was instructed to take all the cotton he could collect, through Brownsville to Matamoras or Tampico, and export it to Foreign countries, bringing back in exchange arms and munitions of war. I am unable to say whether the plan was relinquished subsequently to my leaving, but at that time he had a great number of Mexican carts in his employ, and almost all transportation there is done by these carts.

Corpus Christi is the healthiest place on the coast of Western Texas, and a majority of the inhabitants were for the Union. The harbor is not good, but troops can march from there to within thirty miles of San Antonio, and have good drinking water all the way—an important

consideration in that dry country. Officers of the regular army, familiar with Texas, can tell where a landing should be made, much better than I can. It is important however, that an army once landed, should push forward rapidly so as to give protection to Union men who would otherwise be forced into the rebel army or massacred. Probably Twenty-five Thousand Federal troops could take and hold the whole State—certainly the Western portion. Col. Bomford thought fifteen Thousand could march even from Galveston to San Antonio, and garrison all important points on the road.

The Eastern part of the State, including Houston and Galveston, is Secession, though there are many Union men even there. I found Union men in all the states through which I passed, except Mississippi.

The want of arms is severely felt and this want is becoming greater rapidly. I do not think they have received from abroad more than one tenth, certainly not more than one-fifth, of the arms which are reported to have been received. I refer to reports prevalent in the South, all of which may not have been heard of in the North. I never saw but one foreign musket in the hands of a Southern soldier.

The Southern leaders do not hesitate to make any statement which will encourage their own people.

The gentleman from Memphis referred to in the printed column was a Mr. Randolph, an East Tennessee Union man, who had been to Memphis to attend the Legislature, of which he was a member. He passed through Corinth about the twentieth of March, or a little later. At that time there were between Forty and Forty-Five Thousand rebel troops there. Reinforcements came in as fast as they could be raised. The battle of Shiloh was fought about sixteen days afterward. They *might* have received reinforcements at the rate of 2,000 per day, but I should not think they received more than one thousand per day. According to this estimate the rebel force in that battle was not far from Sixty Thousand.

About the first of April, the number of troops in East Tennessee, as well as I could judge, was not far from ten thousand, of whom between three and four thousand were

at Cumberland Gap, which is a position strong by nature and strongly fortified.

The gentleman referred to in the printed column is named McDowell, a nephew of Gen. Floyd and a relative of our Gen. McDowell. I knew him in Texas, and he is now an officer in the Rebel army. He said that immediately after Floyd ceased to be Secretary of War, a plantation with negroes in South Carolina, was purchased in Mrs. Floyd's name, and \$700,000 in cash paid down for it.

The journey from N. Orleans to Richmond occupied seven days. I was told by members of the Rebel Congress in Richmond—(among others, Col. Wilcox, formerly U. S. Congressman from Mississippi)—that they now expected the war would continue six or seven years longer. I have also heard military men there say the same. Secretary Benjamin told me that the Federals arrested and put in prison every one who reached them from the South. In case their large armies are dispersed, their intention undoubtedly is, to adopt a general system of guerilla warfare, and thus wear out their enemies, and make the Government weary of the war.

In the Gulf States East of the Mississippi river, it seemed to me that nearly every able bodied man had been sent to the war. In the State of Mississippi, but few men were to be seen in any of the villages through which I passed. It is necessary, however, in estimating the number of troops they can raise, to note the following facts.

1st. In the beginning of the war thousands left the South and came North. I estimate the number at not less than fifty Thousand men, nor more than 100,000.

2nd. The mortality *by sickness* in the Southern army has been great. In the last part of October I learned (indirectly) from an officer of high position, that Thirty Thousand southern soldiers had already died from sickness alone. Assuming this to be true, their whole loss *from sickness* up to the present time cannot be less than Sixty Thousand.

3rd. Thousands have returned home invalids, and will be of no further use during the war. I cannot estimate the number well, but should think that (including those disabled by wounds) it is at least 30,000 and probably twice as many.

4th. Their loss in killed, deserters and prisoners has been large. You can estimate this number better than I can.

The above statements only approximate to the truth. Throughout the South it is impossible to obtain any accurate information. Facts are suppressed for fear of discouraging the people now in rebellion.

It really seems to me that the rebels cannot raise many more men than they now have in the service. At any rate they would not be efficient, unless supplies of arms, etc. are received from abroad. It is the opinion of the Federal officers before-mentioned (Col. Bomford and others) that the United States needs more men in the field—at least 100,000 more.

The Yellow Fever generally prevails in New Orleans about one year out of three. It can be prevented by strict quarantine, though this fact is sometimes disputed. The epidemic generally commences in the last part of August (seldom before the 15th) and ends with the first frost, which usually occurs in the first week of November. The number of inhabitants remaining in the city during an epidemic is about Eighty Thousand, and the number of deaths is usually about four thousand or a little more. Sometimes (never except twice) the disease is very malignant and does not yield to former remedies, as in 1853, when it commenced in May and Thirteen Thousand died in the city during the epidemic. With proper sanitary and hospital arrangements I should estimate the number of the army who would escape the disease entirely, at ten per cent. of the whole, and the number who would die at *not more* than ten per cent. If there is no yellow fever, they would probably be as healthy as Southern soldiers. Probably ninety nine out of a hundred of the Southern army would suffer as much from Yellow fever as our own soldiers, and they will never undertake to occupy any place where the epidemic already prevails. This disease is prevalent along the whole Gulf coast from Key West to the Rio Grande, except the islands, the Texas Coast near Corpus Christi and a few other localities. It extends far inland where the country is slightly elevated above the sea, but never prevails in *Western* Texas except near the coast.

The Southern climate (near the Gulf) is far less healthy for armies than the Northern, but undoubtedly Federal armies will suffer from sickness no more and probably less, than Southern armies under the same circumstances. I am informed that this was true in the Mexican War. The second year is said to be more dangerous to Northern men than the first. They should be sent South in the Fall or Winter, and, during the hot season, sanitary precautions used, which all good physicians understand.

I think the South can be conquered without abolishing slavery in the Gulf States or elsewhere. To abolish it in the Gulf States would produce a unanimity among the people of those States which does not now exist. They all abhor the idea of the negroes being set free among them and (as they express it) made their equals. It is worth while to treat with conciliation and kindness those who are, or have been, Union men.

The *original* secessionists are a minority in every state except South Carolina, and perhaps Mississippi. Conciliation and kindness toward them is utterly thrown away. They expect and deserve the same treatment they have given Union men in their midst, and will fight to the last. But few of them will become good citizens again, and when subdued many of them will leave the country forever.

If Western Texas is to become a Free State, it must be before the close of this war. Eastern Texas is more populous and strongly pro-slavery, and will prevent any division of the state in time of peace.

With more time I could have made the foregoing statements more concise. I shall be gratified if they prove to be of any use.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 28th, 1862.*

SIR: I have collected the information which you wished to receive by a private letter. The persons about whom you particularly enquired were Thos. H. Hewes, J. P. Harrison, Benj. F. Flanders, and Randell Hunt.

Thomas Hewes was born in this city—is about 35 years old—a lawyer—was in California seven or eight years—

returned home in 1860. Went to Texas for a few months—returned to this City and opened an office in partnership with James B. Eustis, brother of Slidell's secretary. He was inclined to be a Union man at first, but afterwards became a strong secessionist, and with his father who was from the first an active and bitter rebel, worked hard for the rebel government.

Young Hewes used to be dissipated, but in California he married and reformed. It is said that he has recently returned to former bad habits. He is regarded as a man of talent and is much liked by his acquaintance. He left this city when the fleet arrived and has not yet returned.

James P. Harrison came to this city from Natches, Miss., about sixteen years ago, a lawyer of good standing. In this city he has been in business as a merchant, being one of the firm of Payne and Harrison. He is a respectable and able man. He *was* a "Co-operationist", but became an active rebel, and with his House strongly supported the rebel government. Being a man of high standing he had great influence for evil. When the fleet arrived he left the city and has not yet returned.

Benjamin F. Flanders is a native of New Hampshire, but has lived in Louisiana many years. He was the Secretary and Treasurer of the Opelousas railroad. He is much respected, and is regarded as an able, honest man. He is a good business man, and has much influence. He has been invariably a thorough Union man, and was so obnoxious to the ruling powers, that he was sent out of the "Confederacy" into Kentucky a few months ago, his family being left at their residence in this city. All the Union men I have met in this city (and they are many) speak of Mr. Flanders in the highest terms. Mr. Flanders returned to this city a few days ago. I have seen him, and the opinion formed of him before making his acquaintance, is confirmed. Rev. Mr. Duncan recently in Washington, made application of the N. O. post office. I saw him here a few days ago, and was told by him that Mr. Flanders made application to be surveyor of this Port. When you think best to appoint a Surveyor, I do not think a more deserving and capable man than Mr. Flanders can be found, nor one whose appoint-

ment would give greater satisfaction to Union men here. In politics he is with the Republican party.

Mr. Randell Hunt is probably known to you,^a and I shall not say anything of him except in reference to the present troubles. Mr. Hunt was an able and active opponent of secession from the first, and did all he could to prevent it. It is believed by all, that his opinions are entirely unchanged, but since the beginning of the war, he has been perfectly passive. He has never gone over to secession, and Union men here have the greatest confidence in him, though he does not come out a declared Union man even now. His position is embarrassing, for his brother Judge Hunt (Theodore G. Hunt) is a colonel in the Confederate army and is now in active service in Virginia. I have seen Mr. Hunt several times but without opportunity of talking on political subjects. I delivered to him your letter, and offered to forward any letter to you. Enclosed is the reply to your letter.

Dr. M. F. Bonzano, whom you made Special Agent for the N. O. Mint, has given me great assistance. He possesses great scientific knowledge, and mechanical skill—is perfectly honest and thoroughly devoted to the government. He is strongly opposed to the institution of slavery, and out of limited means, has purchased and emancipated several negroes during the last few years. As a man of learning, he has few superiors, and all his statements and suggestions will be of value to you.

The labor devolving upon me is great, but our success exceeds my expectations. It will take some weeks, at least, to organize every department of the Custom House, and teach the inexperienced employees. I am determined to accomplish three principal objects, viz:—

1. To appoint to office such men and of such political opinions, that the Government (through its officials) can present here a strong nucleus for a Republican party.
2. To recover, or assist in recovering all property and duties (paid to others than the government) and settle up all old business.

^aMr. Chase and Mr. Hunt married sisters, daughters of James C. Ludlow of Cincinnati. Miss Sarah Ludlow was Mr. Chase's third wife and was married to him November 6, 1846. Warden gives (366-367) a letter of Chase's to Mrs. Hunt November 30, 1860. Schuckers (199-200) gives the same letter with some verbal changes as one sent to Mr. Hunt. Warden, Schuckers, and Professor Hart spell Mr. Hunt's first name "Randall."

3. To suppress smuggling and other abuses and to establish a good character for this heretofore notorious Custom House.

The name of the Deputy Collector (furnished from the New York Custom House by Mr. Barney) is William C. Gray. I am glad to mention to you the name of such a man. He knows his business thoroughly and is entirely devoted to the interests of the Government. From early morning until night he (as well as myself) is at the Custom House and nothing escapes his vigilance or care.

The city is very healthy and there is no indication as yet, of an epidemic this year.

I shall take the liberty of writing private letters to you occasionally whenever I can give information which I may think you would like to receive.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 19th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I venture to refer to the name of J. L. Riddell (formerly Confederate Postmaster) because he is, or is to be, an applicant for the office of Assistant Treasurer. Though he now pretends to be a Union man, I believe him to be unworthy of your confidence. I can give you full information about him if you desire it.

Mr. Gray, Deputy Collector, who has been in the New York Custom House more than twenty years, says that more questions and more difficult to be decided, arise here in a week, than in the New York Custom House during a whole year. This is partly owing to the disturbed condition of the country, and partly to the fact that we avoid the former loose and corrupt manner of doing business. The necessity of immediate decision of many of these questions, obliges me, being at so great a distance from Washington, to assume great responsibility. Almost everything, even most of the furniture, belonging to the Custom House, was destroyed—except the building, which was in a dilapidated state. I was compelled to employ considerable labor to make it habitable. I have discovered and seized rebel boats and launches and repaired them—had the Iron safes drilled, opened and repaired—obtained furniture—preserved and arranged all

the old books and papers, and done many other necessary things, so that now we begin to work effectively.

Except salaries of appointed officers, all expenses have, as yet, been paid from the fees of the office—for, of course, money received for duties remains untouched. Hence you see strict economy is practiced. I intend every Government employee in this Custom House shall earn his wages.

No expenses have been, or shall be incurred except such as are absolutely necessary for the thorough establishment of the Custom House, and protection of the Revenue Service.

The whole amount of money collected for duties, is Seventy-Six Thousand Nine Hundred and four $85/100$ Dollars ($\$76,904-85/100$)—See my official report of this date. This amount is now in my hands and subject to your order. All the *safes* are repaired, and the money is perfectly safe, unless the army should be driven out by the Rebels, which is impossible.

The City never was more healthy, and as yet there is no danger of the Yellow Fever.

I do not think the military rule here or elsewhere, is severe enough. It ought to be more dangerous to be a secessionist than to be a loyal citizen, which is not the case here. We should adopt toward rebels, measures as severe as they adopt toward Union men. A real secessionist cannot be conciliated. I begin to incline to the opinion that the Abolition of Slavery is necessary, as a means of terminating the war. The South has persistently forced this issue upon the Government, and perhaps it must soon be accepted.

NEW ORLEANS, *Aug. 26th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: The troops at Baton Rouge have evacuated the place, without destroying it, and are now joined to Gen. Phelps' command at Carrollton. His effective force is now about six thousand men and many guns, and is sufficient for the defence of the place. The fortifications are strong, and Gen. Phelps has the entire confidence of his men. An attack on the City was feared, and therefore the troops were brought down from Baton Rouge. The secessionists confidently expect the city to be taken soon, and had they suc-

ceeded at Baton Rouge, an attack on the City would have followed immediately. I do not believe it will now be made, but if attempted, will certainly be unsuccessful. They expected aid in the City, but Gen. Butler has disarmed all citizens. About 25,000 arms of various kinds have been given up.

The first Louisiana Reg't. is full and ready for service, and nearly enough men enlisted to form a second Reg't. The men are generally foreigners—many Germans—and will do good service.

A free Colored Reg't. formerly in Rebel service, is being organized. Probably this Regiment will be increased to a Brigade. I urged this matter upon Gen. Butler, but he had already decided upon it favorably. The free negroes of Louisiana, are certainly superior, as a class, to the Creoles (descendants of French and Spanish settlers). They are intelligent, energetic and industrious, as is evident from the fact (as stated to me) that they own one seventh of the real estate in this city. This is their own work, for they commenced with nothing, of course.

These men will be good soldiers. Gen. Phelps has at his camp 1,500 men—escaped slaves. Enough to make a full regiment are drilled (without arms) and go through all movements well. I do not know whether Gen. Butler intends them to have arms. They are good looking men, and I believe will be good soldiers.

The health of the troops is good, except those lately at Vicksburg, among whom however, deaths have been few. The City is quite healthy, and there is no longer much danger from Yellow Fever. This is owing to Gen. Butler's severe quarantine regulations. A few more days of health will render us perfectly secure.

The Union sentiment is developing itself satisfactorily. The laboring classes are our friends. When the great Southern armies are broken up they will no longer be afraid, and all will be well.

Provisions are high, and there is much suffering in the City. It is much to be regretted that the River was not opened, so that provisions might be cheap. The condition of the people now is scarcely better than under rebel rule—as to food, I mean.

For other reasons, the opening of the River is of the utmost consequence.

Much complaint is made by Union men, and justly, that those who have been secessionists, are frequently given employment by the authorities, to the exclusion of Union men. Concerning the Custom House there have been no such complaints, I believe, for I have been particularly careful in selecting officers, but I regret to say that other departments have not exercised the same care.

Col. Butler is a brother of Gen'l. Butler and came out with the army, and immediately commenced doing business. He is not in government employ. He is here for the sole purpose of making money, and it is stated by secessionists—and by some Union men—that he has made half a million dollars, or more. I regret his being here at all, for it is not proper that the brother of the commanding General, should devote himself to such an object. It leads to the belief that the General himself is interested with him, and such is the belief of our enemies and of some of our friends. The effect is bad. General Butler seems entirely devoted to the interests of the Government. I have observed closely his brother's course. I do not believe the General is interested in his speculations. I have delayed mentioning this matter until now, hoping to be better informed. Hon. Reverdy Johnson can give you as much information as I can.^a I believe Gen. Butler is disinterested and that he is a most able officer though in a difficult position. Should I learn anything further, you will be informed.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 9th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: The newspapers which I send, will give you most of the local news.

One Regiment of the Free Colored Brigade is full, and about 500 more are already enlisted. Surgeons and officers speak highly of the physical qualities of the men. Most of

^a Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Senator from Maryland, was "appointed by the State Department as a special agent, to proceed to New Orleans and investigate and report upon the complaints made by foreign consuls against the late military proceedings in their respective cases." (Secretary Stanton to General Butler, June 10, 1862, Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 471. Cf. Series III, Vol. II. Cf. also the appendix to these letters.)

them are a very light color, and, I believe, will make good soldiers. I admire the characteristic shrewdness with which Gen. Butler has managed this affair. By accepting a regiment which had already been in Confederate Service, he left no room for complaint (by the Rebels) that the Government were arming the negroes. But, in enlisting, nobody inquires whether the recruit is (or has been) a slave. As a consequence the boldest and finest fugitives have enlisted, while the whole organization is known as the "Free Colored Brigade." Without doubt it will be a success.

It is understood here that Gen. Phelps' resignation has been accepted. The controversy between Generals Butler and Phelps, is much regretted by the best Union men. Gen. Phelps is beloved by his soldiers, and no man has suspected his integrity and disinterestedness. This is not strictly true of Gen. Butler, for while all admire his great ability, many of his soldiers think him selfish and cold-hearted, and many soldiers and citizens—Union and Secessionists think he is interested in the speculations of his brother (Col. Butler) and others.

Sometimes circumstances look very suspicious, but if I happen to hear his explanation of the same circumstances, suspicion almost entirely disappears. I have never been able to discover any good proof that Gen. Butler has improperly done, or permitted, anything for his own pecuniary advantage. He is such a *smart* man, that it would in any case, be difficult to discover what he wished to conceal.

But it is the general impression here that money will accomplish anything with the authorities. It seems probable, that this impression would not exist without some foundation. It is much to be regretted, but Gen. B.'s abilities, shrewdness, and just severity toward secessionists—and proper appreciation of the whole rebellion, cause him to be respected and admired even by his enemies. I believe Gen. Butler's opposition to the enlistment of negroes by Gen. Phelps, was not a matter of principle. Gen. Phelps had the start of him, while Gen. B. wanted the credit of doing the thing himself, and in his own way. And he is doing it, shrewdly and completely, as he does everything.

Notwithstanding the impression above mentioned, it would be difficult to find a man capable of filling Gen. Butler's place, and who would give the same satisfaction to Union men.

The City is very healthy, and the coming of Yellow Fever is no longer feared.

The Iron Clad Gunboat Essex is here from up the River.

NEW ORLEANS *Sept 13th 1862*

DEAR SIR: The business of the Custom House goes on satisfactorily.

The amount of duties now in my hands is \$135,540⁷³/₁₀₀. I hope you will soon draw for at least a portion of this amount.

Great excitement prevails in the City on account of news rec'd up to dates of the 3rd from Washington & later from Kentucky. It is believed by secessionists that Washington & Cincinnati are captured. Probably many of these stories are circulated to prevent people from taking the oaths of allegiance to the U. S. before the 23 inst. From present appearances, I think Gen. Butler intends to be very severe toward those who fail to take the oath by that time.

The City is healthy. All or nearly all the Rebel troops are withdrawn from this part of the country, for the purpose, as is supposed, of being sent North.

It is known here that reinforcements will be sent hither this Fall or Winter, & it is hoped they will be sufficient to take possession of the whole State. But a small portion of the Sugar crop has been destroyed & there is also a good deal of cotton left, all of which will be exported when an opportunity presents itself.

NEW ORLEANS, *Sept. 19th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: Hon. A. J. Hamilton will present this letter to you, and also a letter of introduction from myself. In

^a General Orders No. 41, June 10, 1862, provided for the administration of the oath of allegiance or of neutrality to such as would come forward to take the one or the other; and General Orders No. 71, September 13, 1862, read. "As in the course of ten days it may become necessary to distinguish the disloyal from the loyal citizens and honest neutral foreigners residing in this department," etc. Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XV, pp. 483, 571.

this private letter I wish to add a few statements not proper for an open letter.

Mr. Hamilton refused to leave his seat in the House of Representatives, when Texas seceded. After his term expired, he returned to Texas, and has constantly fought secession up to the time of his forced departure from the State.

Mr. Hamilton is well known throughout Western Texas, and probably has more influence there than any other man. He is brave and determined, and stands high in the estimation of all honest men. Whatever statements he makes to you you can rely on implicitly.

Mr. H. thoroughly appreciates the character of the present struggle, and imposes no conditions upon his loyalty. This is the man to make Western Texas a Free State and he will do it wisely and surely. He knows the country and the people and is such an orator as they love to listen to.

Col. Hamilton can raise a Brigade of Union troops in Texas more quickly than any other man in the State, and I believe he only wants an authority to raise such a Brigade when an expedition goes there.

Mr. H. is to Western Texas, what Brownlow, Maynard and Johnson are to East Tennessee.

In common with all Union men of Texas, I hope he will receive that encouragement to which his abilities and unfaltering loyalty entitle him, and under his wise management Western Texas will be freed, at the same time, from rebellion and Slavery.

(Private and Unofficial)

NEW ORLEANS, *Sept. 24th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: Your kind letter of the 8th. inst. reached me yesterday. I showed it to Gen. Butler, as you gave me permission to do. The General requests me to present to you his kindest regards. He is satisfied that Slavery must be abolished, and he will do his part at such time as he thinks proper. He humorously remarked that his colored Brigade was of about the complexion, (upon the average)

of the Vice President. He says that after properly organizing and drilling them, he believes they can march triumphantly from here to Kentucky. To-morrow the first Reg't. receives arms and joins the army. The second is fully enlisted and is being drilled. A third will be organized, but the General has arms for no more. His order says none are to be received but those who have received freedom through some recognized legal channel—but these are of three classes, viz:—Those who have received freedom from their owners. 2nd. Those who are made free by the present military courts. 3rd. All who come in from the enemy's lines. You see this includes almost all colored people. Gen. Butler will manage this matter wisely and well.

Gen. Butler does more work than any other man in Louisiana. Every thought seems to be given to the interest of the Government, and his powers of endurance are remarkable. No other man could fill his place here. His popularity among Union men is great and increasing. As I told you in a former letter, it is to be regretted that his brother does business here, but I do not think the General is interested in his speculations. He learns everything and forgets nothing. He comes in contact with the best minds in the State, and is equal, or superior, to them all.

During the week ending last night, the number of people who have taken the oath of allegiance, is very great. Every place where the oath was administered, was thronged. Secessionists can be tamed and Gen. Butler can do it. I should say three-fourths, at least, of the citizens have taken the oath, and yet not a threat was made against such as should not take it. I have reason to believe the General will be very severe toward those who persist in calling themselves loyal to the Southern Confederacy. I think he will confiscate their property and remove them beyond the lines.

Notwithstanding Federal reverses, the Union feeling develops itself satisfactorily, and many have really ceased to be secessionists.

The Prussian Ship "Essex" has on board many cases of plate and bullion shipped by rebels. Gen. Butler directed me to grant no clearance to the ship until the cases were landed. The ship has been waiting for a clearance three

days, but will (probably) land the cases soon, when there will be no more trouble.

Since I have been here, two small vessels have cleared for Pensacola with Gen. B.'s permit. Admiral Farragut may perhaps complain of these vessels, for one or both, ran into rebel ports or were captured by the enemy. At any rate, they did not reach Pensacola. The Navy seized the Prize Schooner "Emma" at Ship Island, sent by me to New York. I had put iron on her to complete cargo. She was released and continued her voyage.

The business of the Custom House goes on very satisfactorily. The Mr. Flanders^b I spoke of, is not the one you know, but his brother, and is not perhaps a proper person for Surveyor. He is a proper person for Clerk to perform the duties of Deputy Surveyor and for this office I have nominated him the office of Surveyor being included, I suppose, in my position as Special Agent and Acting Collector.

(Private.)

NEW ORLEANS, *Sept. 30th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I am informed that six gunboats left this vicinity four days ago, to attack Galveston. I do not know how many troops were on board, but not a large number. It is the intention to destroy the bridge connecting the island with the mainland, and capture the Texas force which occupies Galveston.^c

Five regiments of infantry (with proper proportion of Cavalry and Artillery) will start in about a week, on an expedition into the enemy's country. Gen. Weitzel will have command. I am not positively certain, but think, that their destination is North Eastern Texas, which they will easily reach by ascending Red River.

The Schooner "Elma" was seized by me, her owner refusing to give up her Confederate papers, or to take out U. S.

^aIn the next letter this name is given as "Elma."

^bMr. B. F. Flanders is frequently mentioned (June 23, 1862, etc.) and, except toward the close of the period, with approval. The second Mr. Flanders is not elsewhere mentioned, either in these letters or in the important printed sources bearing on the period.

^cA successful attack was made on Galveston on October 6. The boats began to arrive off Galveston on October 3. Cf. Rebellion Records Series I, Vol. XV, *passim*.

papers. Vessel and cargo were worth less than \$3,000. I sent her to N. Y. in charge of one Valleau, who was highly recommended by military officers and others.

I am informed that this vessel was run ashore on Dauphine Island off Mobile, and destroyed. She was small and old. Either she run ashore in a storm, or what is more probable, Valleau tried to run the Blockade into Mobile, and was so hard pressed by a Gunboat that he run the vessel ashore so as to prevent capture. This is the first accident which has occurred, but luckily neither vessel nor cargo was valuable. She had on board 40 bars iron for plating Gunboats, put in as ballast.

You expected the Navy to assist me. They have never given me the least help, and I am obliged to take the whole responsibility of forwarding vessels to New York.

The Light at South Pass will be relighted to-morrow night for the first time. I go down to the mouth of the River to-day to attend to it.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *Oct. 8th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I send you to-day, a map of lower Louisiana, Mississippi and Alabama, more reliable and rare than any other, hoping an occasional reference to it will be of service to you. The numerous bayous in this part of the country, are navigable for small, and some of them, for large vessels.

The destination of the expedition (Gen'l. Weitzel's Brigade) up the River, spoken of in my last letter, is either Donelsonville [sic^a] or Plaquemine. From either of these places, bayous lead to the head of Berwick's Bay, as you see by the map. As I am informed, the design is to take possession, by boats, of what is called (on the map) *Lake Ochestimache* (Berwick's Bay), and of the Bayou leading therefrom to Plaquemine or Donelsonville, thus enclosing a large and rich country, filled with sugar and cotton. The expedition is expected to start in ten or fifteen days, but I believe its object is *commercial* rather than *military*.

^aThe proper spelling is Donaldsonville.

Berwick is eighty miles from here, connected with New Orleans by the Opelousas Railroad, and is in the Collection District of Teche. I would suggest that whenever you think proper to open the port of Teche, I can give you great assistance, and if you attach it to this District, I can save you much trouble by a Deputy Collector there, and establishing (under your authority) a branch of this Custom House at that point. Large quantities of cotton and sugar remain in that country. I have excellent officers, numerous boats, etc., and should be willing to assume this additional responsibility, if the interests of the Government would be advanced thereby. I would add also that when the port of Mobile is to be opened, I can give you great assistance from this point.

The proclamation of the President is received here, but I have not learned in what spirit it is regarded, except that it is endorsed by the best Union men.

A necessary result of the proclamation, is the organizing and arming of the colored population throughout the South—and for the following reasons—

1st. On account of the assistance they will render the Gov't against the rebels.

2nd. For their own protection against their former masters.

3rd. For the purpose of restraining and controlling them, also [as ?] they may be dangerous to friend and foe alike. One individual can control 50,000 disciplined men, but cannot control a mob of fifty.

The colored Brigade progresses and prospers. Recruits come in faster than they can be provided for. It is the present intention to organize six Regiments at least. Two are full and the third nearly. The 1st. Reg't. received their arms lately, and I have seen them drill. They are fine men and I believe the Reg't. will be equal to any in this Department. They learn more quickly than white soldiers, and will certainly fight, when the proper time comes. You will receive from me by this same mail a *private* letter concerning trade with the enemy, to which I earnestly call your attention.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *Oct. 10th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I enclose in this private letter, my statement of private account with the Treasury Department, with vouchers showing the disposition of the \$1,000, received from Mr. Barney, by your order, to pay traveling expenses of the Custom House officers from New York to this port. The account shows balance due me Sept. 30th, of \$1,332.24. My name has not been included in the pay roll of this office, in making estimate heretofore.

The duties of Collector of this port have never been so extensive as now—nor his labors so arduous—nor his responsibilities so great. If the account is incorrect, please inform me with your own hand.

This Custom House is thoroughly organized, and everything works smoothly and efficiently. We have not yet received any blank books and forms from New York, so that official returns cannot yet be made in proper form.

About 100 vessels are in port loading or unloading. Most of the business being coastwise, the receipts for duties are not large. To-night the am't. in my hands is about \$180,000. I have not appointed, and shall not appoint, any officer, unless it is absolutely necessary.

Mr. Sarjeant, acting appraiser here, informs me by letter, that he has had an interview with you and has received from you authority to appoint in New York Assistants to the Appraiser's Department in this Custom House, who will return here with him. I regret that my opinion was not asked, for I regard the increase of officers in the Appraiser's Department, only as an unnecessary expense to the Government. Even in Mr. Sarjeant's absence, we have got along well enough with only Mr. Jackson, whose nomination as Asst. Appraiser you approved. To be sure, the increase of officers will give to all in the Appraiser's Department much leisure, but why should a Government officer be allowed any leisure at all?

(Private and unofficial)

NEW ORLEANS, *Oct. 10th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I have received your official letter of Sept. 22nd. enclosing letters of Mr. Barney and Mr. Norton—and

asking information whether any portion of shipments to this port reach the enemy. My official reply dated yesterday, is correct so far as it goes, but additional facts exist, proper to be stated only in a private letter.

Ever since the capture of this city, a brisk trade has been carried on with the rebels, by a few persons, under military permits, frequently with military assistance and as I believe, much to the pecuniary benefit of some of the principal military officers of this Department. I have suspected it for a long time, and spoke of it in my private letters to you, of Aug. 26th. and Sept. 9th. On the 5th. October, your regulations of Aug. 28th. reached me. I immediately stopped all trade with the enemy, and as this brought me in contact with the persons who have been conducting the trade, I acquired much information. Almost all the information to be given in this letter, has been collected this week.

A brother of Gen. Butler is here, who is called Col. Butler, though he occupies no position in the army. Government officers, citizens, and rebels, generally believe him to be the partner or agent of Gen'l. Butler. He does a heavy business and by various practices has made between one and two million dollars since the capture of the City. Gov. Shepley and especially Col. French (Provost Marshal) are supposed to be interested, but these officers, I believe to be entirely under control of Gen'l. Butler, who knows everything, controls everything, and should be held responsible for everything.

There are two channels of trade with the rebels—the River and Lake Pontchartrain.

River trade must be conducted by steamboats. There are eight or nine. River boats here, all seized and now in the hands of the military authorities. Col. Butler has used these boats as he pleased, for carrying up and bringing down freight. I had no control over them and could not know what was transpiring, for the military authorities controlled them, with whom I had no authority to interfere. Troops were at Baton Rouge and below Vicksburg, and it was to be supposed the boats were used for public, not private purposes. Of late, frequently, one or two infantry companies would accompany a boat taking up cargo and

bringing back produce. This service was unpopular with officers and men, who enlisted for the benefit of the country and not of speculators. I say no more concerning the River trade, except that it has been constant and sometimes active.

Of the trade across the Lake I have more accurate and more information, because there are no government vessels there, and it was conducted with schooners. Shortly after arriving here I learned that large quantities of salt had crossed the lake to the rebels, and supposing it to be smuggled, took measures to stop it thenceforth. Two weeks later a schooner loaded with 1,000 sacks salt to cross the Lake. I directed the inspector to seize the vessel, and immediately called upon Gen. Butler, and requested a guard to be put on board. This was about 9 o'clock at night. He appeared indignant at the attempt to take salt to the enemy—ordered a guard on board the vessel—and ordered the immediate arrest of the Captain and shippers. The next day I had an interview with Provost Marshal French, who told me it was all a misunderstanding. The shipper had a permit for 500, but not for 1,000. That the shipper and captain were released—the vessel unladen and released also. I told him, he had no authority to release my seizures, but it was now too late to help it.

After this but little trade was done until six or eight weeks ago, when Gen. Butler gave a permit to a rebel, to ship four large cargoes, much of which was contraband, across the lake. I immediately called upon the General, who said that it *was the policy of the Gov't.* to get cotton shipped from this port, and for that purpose, to trade with the enemy. In the conversation he left upon my mind the impression that this course was approved at Washington. I then had entire confidence in Gen'l. Butler, and my letter of instructions had directed me to consult with him frequently. For the last two months trade has been active across the lake, nor had I any authority to stop it, until the arrival of your regulations on the 5th. Oct., as above mentioned.

The following statements are made to me by various persons.

One man says—that he took over 600 sacks salt just before I arrived, and was gone six weeks. Gen'l Butler gave permit. Two dollars per sack was paid for permission to take from New Orleans. He sold 400 sacks to Confederate army at \$25. per sack, and was permitted to sell the other 200 to citizens, at \$36. per sack. He did not own the cargo, but received one fourth of net profits. He cleared \$2,000. The owners cleared \$6,000—good money.

Dr. Avery, Surgeon 9th. Reg't. Conn. Vol., states that he accompanied an expedition to Pontchitoula, just North of Lake Pontchartrain, about three weeks ago. A skirmish ensued—he was taken prisoner and taken to Camp Moore. He saw a large quantity of salt in sacks there, lying by the railroad. A rebel officer said to him. "We bought that salt from Col. Butler. We paid \$5. per sack for the privilege of shipment from New Orleans. To-day that salt goes to Richmond for the army. To-morrow or next day another cargo will arrive. The army get their salt from New Orleans. The Yankees "will do anything for money." Dr. A. was subsequently released and is now in this city.

Capt. Cornwell, Co. A. 13th. Conn. Reg't. was stationed with his company at mouth of New Canal, for about three weeks, ending last Saturday. He states that the first schooner going out, was laden with large am't. of contraband articles—some medicines, including 80 gals. castor oil—It had Shepley's permit. He sent his 2nd. Lieut. (Kinney) to Gen. Butler—who said "Go to Gov. Shepley and ask him if he does not *know* that these articles will go right into the hands of the enemy." Gov. Shepley said, "Return to Gen. Butler and say that I consulted *him* before giving this permit." Whereupon Gen. B. said, "Well, let it go, since Gov. S. has granted a permit." The same thing happened two or three days afterward, when Gen. B. received the messenger, and at once wrote on the back of the permit—"Gov. Shepley's passes *must* be respected." Capt. Cornwell now wants to go home.

The inspector of Customs at the New Canal is very sick, and therefore I cannot get his statement at present.

Mr. Clark applies for permission to trade with the enemy on a large scale and states that he made the arrangement

by Gen. Butler's consent. I let his vessel leave in ballast, taking bond in double the value of the vessel, that she would be returned into my custody within 20 days. He had a letter from Gen. B. which I caused to be privately copied, and also a letter from Col. Butler. Both are enclosed herewith, marked A.

Don D. Goicouria (of the firm of D. D. Goicouria and Co., New St., N. Y.) has been here four months and has made about \$200,000. He asks to continue trade with the enemy authorized by Gen'l. Butler. He has taken two thousand sacks salt to the confederate army. He made an arrangement with Gen. Butler and Benjamin (Rebel Secretary of War) to take salt to the enemy, bringing back cotton—in exchange, at the rate of ten sacks in one bale of cotton. He goes North next steamer, and will apply to Secretary of Treasury for permit to continue the trade. He has rec'd. here 200 bales cotton. His salt goes to the Confederate Army. He says, Col. Butler told him that he (Col. B.) had sent North 8,000 hogs. sugar of his own, worth in N. Y. \$800,000 or \$900,000. Besides salt, he has taken to the enemy large amount of other goods. In his interview with you he will be able to tell you everything about trade with the Rebels if disposed so to do.

A Roman Catholic Priest, from Bay St. Louis, told me yesterday that in his vicinity, Salt was selling for \$3.50 per gallon—or \$25. per bushel—and Flour at \$55. per barrel.

(A Sack of salt contains about 4 bushels).

Mr. Lloyd applies for permit to trade. He states that Gen. B. granted him permit, to take effect whenever he pleased — and offered him Gunboats and soldiers. He declined such aid, preferring to make arrangements with Confederate authorities, which are now completed. That he promised to bring hither 5,000 bales cotton and sell them to Gen. Butler, at the market price. He insinuates that there is a further understanding between himself and Gen. Butler, but declines stating what it is. His agent's name is Burden and his application (with list of cargo) is enclosed herewith, marked B.

Another application comes from Wm. Perkins and is enclosed herewith marked *C*.

R. H. Montgomery's vessels was stopped by me in New Canal on the 5th. October. His permit from Gov. Shepley and list of Cargo is enclosed herewith marked *D*.

All the vessels crossing the Lake since Sept. 23rd. have had Gen. Shepley's pass. The inspector has furnished a list of them with their cargoes—which list is enclosed herewith, marked *E*.

After receiving copy of your regulations, I told Gen. Butler that this trade gave aid and comfort to the enemy without benefit to the Gov't.—that it demoralized the army—disgusted loyal citizens—and degraded the character of the Gov't. He smilingly assented—said it ought to be stopped—that he didn't see why Shepley granted such permits—and that he was going to visit Ship Island, and when he returned would see me about it again!

The stringent blockade enhances prices in the Rebel States, and is a great thing for the military speculators of this Department—and their friends.

I know of 5,000 sacks being sent to the enemy, and I think more than 10,000 have been sent.

I suppose your regulations (28th. Aug.) apply equally to the portion of the State within our lines—as well as to that under insurrectionary control. That supplies can be sent anywhere to a loyal citizen for his own use, but not to sell to rebels, and that I am to control the whole matter. If I mistake please inform me.

Most of this trade can be stopped, but I believe the present military authorities are so corrupt that they will take all means to make money. The amount of goods smuggled from this point to the enemy, has been trifling. Gen. Butler has always been kind to me, and our personal relations are upon the most pleasant footing. He has great ability, great energy, shrewdness and activity, and industry, but he can never acquire a character here for disinterestedness. Many officers and soldiers want to go home, not wishing to risk their lives to make fortunes for others.

(Private and Unofficial)

NEW ORLEANS, *October 16th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: My last letter was in reference to trade with the enemy.

After Gen. Butler's return from Pensacola—for the purpose of discussing the matter, Gen. B. asked me to his house, where I met also Gov. Shepley. In a long conversation, I stated to them fully my own views, and it was understood that there should be no more trade with the enemy—that no supplies of any kind or in any quantity, should pass into insurrectionary districts not even supplies for loyal residents of such locality, because Guerillas would in most cases, take away such supplies for their own use.

Gen. Butler and Gen. Shepley each said, however, that he had given one permit to cross the Lake, not yet carried into effect. The goods were bought and vessels loaded, but that I had stopped them. It was insisted that these vessels should be allowed to proceed. I said that the permission of the Secretary of Treasury ought first to be obtained.

The next morning Gen. Butler sent me the list of cargo for the vessel, on the second leaf of which was endorsed his request that she be allowed to proceed. Gen. Shepley sent me a note to the same effect in regard to the other. A copy of the list of cargo, with Gen. Butler's original endorsement on second leaf, is herewith enclosed, marked A. A copy of the list of cargo of second vessel, with Gen. Shepley's note, is herewith enclosed, marked B.

It is inexpedient that I should have a controversy with the military authorities, and I let these two vessels go, with the distinct understanding however, that nothing more was to go out.

Gen. Butler's permit was to Judge Morgan, a good Union man, who has lost much by the Rebellion.

Gen. Shepley's was to one Montgomery, who has previously taken over, among other things, 1,200 sacks salt. Gen. S. says he granted this permit at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Bouligny—formerly in Congress from this state, but now in Washington—and that Montgomery told him Bouligny was part owner of the cargo with him (Montgomery).

I think there will be no more of this trade. Gen. B. has always carried out (so far as I know) the wishes of the Gov't. when distinctly made known, and I believe he will fully carry out (in future) your views respecting this matter.

Gen. B. has more brains and energy than any other three men in New Orleans. He does an immense amount of work, and does it well. He knows and controls everything in this Department. I regret that it was necessary to write my last letter—or rather, that the statements therein made were facts. Besides, no other officer appreciates, like Gen. Butler, the importance of freeing and arming the colored people—and he is not afraid to do it. All the pro-slavery influence in this State cannot change him in this matter.

When Weitzel's expedition (spoken of in a late letter) goes out, Gen. B will send the 1st. Colored Regiment right into the heart of the section of the country to be taken. They will move nearly west from here, on the line of the Opelousas Railroad. I think they will do a great work. The expedition is expected to start in about two weeks. Late New York papers indicate the adoption of some plan for getting out cotton from Rebeldom. I hope it will not be done by means of trade with the enemy, which is objectionable for many reasons.

It will benefit the enemy ten times as much as the Government—it demoralizes the army, who imagine themselves fighting for speculators—officers will be interested, directly or indirectly, in the trade, and they and other speculators, will wish the war prolonged for the sake of great profits—the Rebels will not keep their engagements nine cases out of ten—the rebels are terribly in want, and now is the time to deprive them of supplies. There are other objections besides those enumerated.

The greatest distress prevails in insurrectionary districts all around us. The Guerilla system injures Rebels more than the Government, and the people are becoming heartily tired of it.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *October 27th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: Gen. Weitzel left here three days ago, with five Regiments Infantry, four companies cavalry, and two

batteries. Their destination was Donaldsonville, about seventy miles up the River, where the Rebels were posted in force. I have just learned from a Captain of a transport, who has returned from there, that the landing was effected successfully. Considerable skirmishing took place, when the Rebels retreated, leaving a few killed and wounded, and also leaving two hundred prisoners in our hands, who were paroled and released. The rebels retreated to Napoleonville—(South of Donaldsonville), where it is supposed they will make a stand. The 1st. (colored) Regiment and 8th. Vermont, left here yesterday, marching in a direction nearly due west. Two days ago, Gunboats started for Berwick's Bay, to take possession there. All these movements are parts of one and the same plan. I informed you many days ago, of the departure of a portion of the Fleet, to attack and capture Galveston. They accomplished the object without loss. Gen. Butler will soon send a Regiment to occupy the town and Island.

Seventy-three refugees from Texas have just arrived here from Matamoras, about one-third of whom are Germans—the remainder Americans. At my request Gen. Butler is organizing them into a company for Gov't military service. Judge Davis, from Texas, is now here, and will receive authority to enlist and organize a full Texas Regiment. There will be no difficulty about this, as besides the company here—three or four companies can be raised in Galveston. There are hundreds of refugees in the vicinity of Matamoras, anxious to join the army, for whom Gen. Butler will send a steamer. You saw Judge Davis in Washington. He is well and favorably known in Texas.

Everything appears to be going on well here.

Your regulations of Aug. 28th. throw upon me great labor and responsibility. I have informed you of my action and opinions, in the matter, and would like to know if I have made any mistake.

I know of but one fault to be found with Gen. Butler. He has (in my opinion) been altogether too willing to permit his friends to make fortunes.

I hope you have completely recovered from your illness, of which mention was made in the New York papers.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *Nov. 14th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: Four days ago, General Butler showed me the letter he had just received from you, concerning the speculations of Col. Butler, and trade with the enemy. In my opinion, it was the right method of effecting a desirable object. The General [sic] pleased to talk to me confidentially. He says that his brother's gains have been less than Two Hundred Thousand—that he has done only a legitimate business—that without being interested he assisted his brother at first with his (the Gen'l's) credit—and that Col. Butler will close his business as quickly as possible and go home. He also said that some of his officers had engaged in speculations, but only in a proper manner.

For one thing Col. Butler deserves credit. Many sugar plantations were abandoned. Col. B. bought the standing crop of a large plantation for \$25,000, hired negroes at a fair rate per day—and will make a thousand hogsheads of sugar this year, from this one plantation. I say he deserves credit, as being the first man bold and enterprising enough to undertake the raising of a large crop of sugar by Free labor—which, a little while ago, was slave labor—in opposition to the Southern idea, long established, that Sugar and Cotton can be successfully raised only by compulsory labor. I lately visited this plantation, which is a few miles below the City, and never saw negroes work with more energy and industry. This single experiment refutes theories which Southern leaders have labored, for years, to establish. The crops of four or five other plantations down the river, and some above the City, were subsequently purchased by other persons and are conducted with the same success. The abolition of Slavery by whatever means accomplished, instead of destroying, will increase and invigorate labor.

I think there will not again, be any ground of complaint against Gen. Butler, for his toleration of speculators. Nothing objectionable has been permitted since the receipt of your regulations of August 28th. He is a man not to be spared from the country's service. I suppose he was a Proslavery man before the war, but he has since become the opposite. And nearly all real Union men from the South

are Anti-Slavery, of whom Hon. A. J. Hamilton is a good representative.

The expedition to The Lafourche has been entirely successful. The whole country from here to Berwick's Bay and up as far as Donaldsonville, is in our possession. There was a short, sharp fight, and the undertaking was accomplished. Gen. Butler's Gun-boats did not reach Berwick in time to cut off the retreat—having got aground on the bar—and so the greater part of the enemy escaped.

These gunboats are four. Gen. Butler made three of them out of old River boats—iron plated them with plating designed for rebel gunboats, and, drawing but little water, they are of great service.

The inhabitants of LaFourche are thoroughly subjugated, and express a desire for peace on any terms. They take the oath of allegiance voluntarily. The negroes everywhere flocked to the army, as to their deliverers, and many of the plantations were entirely deserted. Gen. Butler says they are free forever, but he has ordered them (I understand) back to their plantations to work there for proper compensation. This is the only method of providing for them at present. The situation of this country (Lafourche) is such that it is not probable the rebels will ever regain it. It is much to be regretted that Gen. B. has not more troops here. With 25,000 more, he could accomplish great things. If the enemy is attacked from the South, he will no longer think of invading Kentucky and Missouri, but turn Southward to protect the Gulf states.

The two colored regiments guard the railroad from here to Berwick. They have done well, and accomplished all that has been given them to do. About one year ago, the colored Reg't. was ordered out to escort the Yankee prisoners through the City, though the order was subsequently countermanded. A few days ago, a company of the same Reg't. marched into the City having under guard about twenty guerillas, whom they had captured. It seemed a just retribution.

The company officers of this first Reg't. are educated men, and each speaks at least two languages. Gen. B. will soon give his colored troops a chance to show themselves.

He designs attacking Port Hudson, a strong position on the River.

The third colored Reg't. is full and will soon be in the field. I urged upon General B. the propriety of arming all the able bodied negroes in LaFourche, for they would willingly consent to it. He is undoubtedly in favor of it, but has not arms. He has collected in the City, smooth bore muskets enough for three more Reg'ts., but his supply will then be exhausted. This will be six colored Regiments. I fear the Government will not act decidedly, as to the army of negroes, until the rebels take the wind out of our sails, by arming them for the Rebel side.

The Rebels have found a new supply of salt. It is on an Island formed by a bayou, half way between Vermilion Bay and New Iberia, which island is called *Petit Anse* on the map I sent you. It is forty or fifty miles west of Berwick, and about ten miles inland, but the Bayou is navigable for Gunboats. The supply of salt is large, and wagons are hauling it to Mississippi and Alabama. Gen. Butler will take measures to destroy the works at once—or as soon as possible.

Texas Refugees have, at different times, reached this City. I proposed to Gen. Butler, that a Texas Reg't. of mounted Rifles be organized, at the same time suggesting the method of doing it. He adopted the plan. Judge Davis, of Corpus Christi, is selected as Colonel, and Mr. Stancel (Inspector in this Custom House) as Lieut. Col. The first company is mustered in—composed entirely of refugees—and two more are started. They will go to Galveston; where many persons will join—and a steamship will be sent to the Rio Grande, to bring off the Refugees who are at, or near, Matamoras. A full regiment can easily be raised. Perhaps the news rec'd. here, of the expedition to Texas under Gen. Banks, will interfere with the plan, but I hope not.

The whole country west of the Mississippi, can be subjugated in one campaign. Should this be accomplished, the Southern Confederacy would never be formidable, in case of its independence being established by Foreign interference, or by other means.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *November 28th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I have frequently conversed with Gen'l. Butler about an expedition to Texas, and since it was known here that Gen. Banks was to command the expedition, I have had two or three conversations with him. The General evidently expected that this expedition would be under his command, and now thinks that Gen. Banks should report to him and act under his orders—for the following reasons.

1st. Because Ship Island is an inconvenient and, for shipping, a dangerous rendezvous. Most of the Steam vessels from New York would be unable to enter the Texas harbors. Gen. Butler would put the troops on board his own light draught steamers, and wait just in the mouth of the river until fair weather permitted him to run to Galveston in 48 hours. The troops from the sailing vessels could be landed here and the vessels return home, thus saving expense, while a few trips of the General's steamers would convey all the troops to the Texas coast.

2nd. Gen. Butler's troops are acclimated—well disciplined—have all been under fire, and the weak and sickly have all been weeded out. Gen. Banks troops will be new and undisciplined, etc. Gen. Butler would retain the new troops here and send to Texas an equal number of his veterans, who would form a far more effective force than new troops and not liable to be weakened by sickness.

3rd. A large army could be accommodated in the City with greater ease and comfort than upon Ship Island.

4th. This point is the most convenient depot for supplying Quartermaster and Commissary's stores to Gen. Banks in Texas, and beef and other supplies to be obtained in Texas are most needed here.

5th. When the rebel army retreats from Vicksburg and Port Hudson, they may go west to Texas and crush Gen. Banks' force. This can be prevented by cooperating from this point and cutting them off by taking Shreveport (on Red River)—and this co-operation can be efficient only by unity of counsel and command.

6th. The General has prepared four or five iron-clad gun-boats,—the only strong boats on the Gulf coast, capable of

operating advantageously in the shallow bays and bayous of Texas.

Such are the reasons I have collected why Gen. Butler should have command, or rather, why Gen. Banks should report to him. These reasons come from Gen. Butler himself. Perhaps others could be given, and perhaps these already stated are not weighty. I thought it proper, at any rate, to state them to you. Gen. Butler says the above plan would advance the expedition thirty days. Of course, I am ignorant of Gen. Banks' plan of operations. Intelligent Texans now here, think the capture of the town of Houston should be the first object. This is the center of railroads and (they say) the controlling position (in military sense) of the state. The slave population is large in that part of the state, and if *properly* employed, would prove a source of great weakness to the Rebels.

P. S. I do not know whether Gen. Butler or Gen. Banks is the ranking officer. I have written this letter only that you might be informed of Gen. Butler's opinions. He will soon send troops to Galveston.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *November 29th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your kind letter of the 14th inst. Whenever it is deemed expedient to put another in the place now occupied by me, I should like to be made Surveyor, as you suggest.

Naturally it will be a little painful to occupy the second place in this Custom House where I have so long been first—which I cannot help regarding as, in some sort, created by myself in the midst of great difficulties and in the face of many obstacles—now that the great labor is done and the road is becoming smooth and easy. But that is of little moment and the President and yourself are the only proper judges of what is desirable and expedient.

I cannot recompense your constant kindness to me, except by endeavoring to deserve its continuance.

Now that it seems definitely settled that an old resident of

New Orleans is to be made Collector, I can, with propriety, speak to you without reserve upon this, as I always have on all other subjects. In the organization and management of the Custom House, such satisfaction has been given here, that, I have no doubt, I could have secured the appointment of Collector for myself, had I employed the usual arts of office-seekers. Such a course would have been unworthy of myself and a betrayal of the confidence you placed in me—and therefore when prominent Union men offered to use their influence in my favor, their offers were declined.

Mr. Bullitt is an old resident of this City, and is well known here as an honest and kind gentleman—thoroughly loyal—and possessing pleasant social qualities. I have, however, frequently heard Union men express two objections to his appointment, of which the first was that he possessed hardly ordinary business capacity.

The second objection is as follows. Soon after the capture of the City, a few noble men undertook to arouse and organize the Union sentiment. Among these were Mr. Flanders, Judge Heistand, Judge Howell, Mr. Fernandez and others. It was not then a pleasant thing to be a Union man, nor a leader in such an undertaking. Their families were slighted and themselves isolated. They persevered—called meetings, made speeches—organized Union associations—Union home guards, etc. These men have borne the heat and burden of the day and have redeemed this City. The result of their efforts was apparent the other night at the great Union meeting at St. Charles Theater,^a when the thousands of members of the numerous associations were cheering Abraham Lincoln and Gen. Butler. All this time Mr. Bullitt, instead of being here to help, was in Washington looking after the loaves and fishes—and found them. For thus, Mr. Bullitt's appointment is not popular. Mr. Boulogny has also been much blamed for pursuing the same course.

In the Union movement in this City I am sorry to say that Mr. Randell Hunt and Mr. Roselius have stood aloof—especially the former. On the other hand Mr. Durant, Mr.

^a On November 14 Military Governor Shepley issued a call for the election of members of Congress on December 3. This Union meeting was held on the 15th of November.

Flanders and Mr. Rozier have done all that men could do. Mr. Durant and Mr. Rosier [Rozier] are both natives of this State, and are regarded as two of the best lawyers in Louisiana. If Senators are appointed by Gov. Shepley, Mr. Durant will probably be one, and perhaps Mr. Rozier the other.

The election of Representatives to Congress occurs on the third December. Two will be elected—one from each of the two Congressional Districts in our possession. The 1st. Dist. includes the lower half of the City and the country on this side of the River down to the Gulf. The 2nd. Dist. includes the upper half of the City and the country above and the Lafourche. In this 2nd. Dist. the candidates are Mr. Durell, Dr. Cottman and Judge Morgan. I believe they are all good men, but I can form no opinion as to the probable results of the election.

In the lower (1st. Con. Dist.) the candidates are Mr. Bouligny and Mr. Flanders. Mr. Bouligny will have the whole Creole vote and but little more. This creole population is valuable only for their votes. They are half disloyal, but took the oath to avoid confiscation. They feel but little attachment to the Government, somewhat more to the Southern Confederacy—but most of all, to Napoleon III. Unfortunately this population is large in Bouligny's District.

Mr. Flanders is the candidate of the Union Association. He did not want to run but it was urged upon him. Politically Mr. F. is an Abolitionist, but not of the blood-thirsty kind. I hope for his election. The whole real Union sentiment is in his favor. If he goes to Washington, he will let a little daylight into the darkened minds of Pro-slavery Democrats.

As an evidence of the progress of ideas I mention a remarkable resolution passed unanimously by the Union Association recently, in the lower part of the City—which was to the effect—that *all* loyal men, of proper age, who had taken the oath of allegiance—should be allowed to vote at this coming election. This meant negroes. Members of the Association said that a black man, who was carrying a musket for the Gov't. deserved to vote—much more than secessionists who had sworn allegiance to save their

property. It seems to me, that this is too much in advance of the times. The virtuous Seymour and VanBuren have a good deal to say about Radicals. What would they say of the Union men of the South? I will inform you of the result of the election, as soon as possible after it is decided.

The expedition to the salt works (spoken of in my last) failed. The Gunboats could not get up the Bayou, and the troops could not pass through the swamps. They will have to be taken from New Iberia.

The affairs of the Dep't. of the Gulf, are managed with entire honesty, so far as I can perceive. At any rate no trade of any kind with the enemy is permitted. The pressure for permission to renew the trade, has been very great. One man offered me \$50,000 cash, for permission to take salt across the Lake. A sack of salt was worth here \$1.25—across the Lake, \$60. to \$100. A thousand sacks would be worth \$60,000, with which cotton could be bought for 10 cts. per pound and brought here and sold for 60 cts. So that one cargo would be a great fortune. Another man wanted to bring here several thousand bales cotton, but must take back stores. He would give me one fourth of all the cotton brought hither, and there were many other cases—but they make these offers with such skill that it is impossible to get any legal hold on them. I don't know how many offers would have been made, if I had been suspected to be of easy virtue. People here think if a man has a chance to make money, however dishonorably—that he will avail himself of it, of course. I again express the hope that no trade of any kind, with the enemy, will be authorized from Washington.

NEW ORLEANS, *December 4th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: The mail is about to close and I write in haste, to inform you of the result of the election.

In the 1st. Con. District, Mr. Flanders is elected by an overwhelming majority. His only competitor was Mr. Bouligny. So far as returns are known Mr. Flanders received more than ten times as many votes as Mr. Bouligny. You already know as much of Mr. Flanders as I can tell

you. He expects to start for Washington by the next steamer.

In the other (2nd.) Congressional District, the candidates were Durell, Hahn, Barker, and Greathouse, Dr. Cottman having withdrawn his name by request (order!) of Gen. Butler, and Mr. Hahn took his place."

Mr. Hahn is elected by a good majority. He was an original and continuous Union man, and is understood to be unconditional in his loyalty. Durell was unfortunately the candidate of the Union Association—unfortunately, for he is not popular and many members voted for Hahn, against whom I know of no objections.

Enclosed is an account of Mr. Hahn, published this morning which is correct so far as it goes.

I do not understand why Dr. Cottmann was prevented from continuing to be a candidate—by Gen. Butler. He would certainly have been elected and is a good and very popular man, who has suffered much, for the "Confederates" have destroyed his plantations. I understand he intends visiting Washington soon, when he will probably explain the matter.

The result of the election seems to me to be very satisfactory. A good vote was cast; considering the number of men Gen. Butler has enlisted, & the number who are absent with the rebel army.

"The vote was.

First district:

B. F. Flanders	2,370
All others	273
	<u>2,643</u>

Second district.

M. F. Hahn	2,799
Judge Durell	1,458
Barker	453
Greathouse	357
Scattering	50
	<u>5,117</u>

(House Reports, Thirty-seventh Congress, Third session, No. 22.)

On the floor of the House, Representative Dawes, of Massachusetts, chairman of the Committee on Elections, represented that one candidate withdrew because he was suspected of disloyalty. (Congressional Globe, February 9, 1863.)

On Dr. Cottman cf. April 30, 1863, also letters following, also November 5, 1863.

Messrs. Hahn and Flanders were admitted and took the oath of office, the former on February 17, and the latter on February 23, 1863. The Thirty-seventh Congress expired on March 3, 1863.

(Unofficial)

NEW ORLEANS, *December 10th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I send this letter by Mr. Flanders who leaves to-day for Washington, and suggest that you talk fully with him concerning affairs here. I mean military and political affairs, with which he is quite familiar. You can rely perfectly on the *integrity* of Mr. F. An occurrence has just taken place which causes me to feel much indignation and some chagrin.

Col. Butler has three or four men in his employ who manage his business for him. The principal one is a Mr. Wyer. Some days ago Wyer loaded a vessel for Matamoras. She was loaded in the New Basin, and when she got into the Lake, ran into Pontchitoula.

This information reached me two days ago and since then I have been investigating the matter and am satisfied that it was a predetermined plan to take the cargo to Pontchitoula for the rebels, instead of going to Matamoras. I am also satisfied that Col. Butler was the sole owner of the cargo.

The vessel was the Schooner "L. L. Davis", 95 tons burden, and 500 sacks salt was the greater portion of her cargo. This is worth in Rebeldom the astonishing price of \$150. per sack. Cotton could be bought there at not more than 15 cts. per pound and delivered at some point on the Mississippi whence it could be brought hither. Near Matamoras, salt is abundant and cheap. I expressed astonishment to Wyer when he cleared the vessel, that he should send salt to that port, but he pretended to have information that he could get a good price for it.

I have just been to see Gen. Butler and laid the whole matter before him with statement of proof that the "Davis" was loaded with intention to run the blockade. I cannot give this statement in one letter, but it is sufficient to say that Gen. Butler expressed himself perfectly satisfied that such was the intention. I then told him I believed Col. Butler was the owner of the cargo—& gave my reasons.

Gen. Butler assures me he will immediately investigate the matter thoroughly & if Col. Butler or those associated with him, are interested in the operation, he & they shall instantly leave the Department of the Gulf. He manifested

great indignation which I cannot believe feigned, judging from his appearance. I am confident I can bring forward sufficient proof to convince any honest Jury that the vessel is Col. Butler's and that he intended to take the cargo to Rebels. This statement I intend to make to Gen. Butler to-morrow morning, so that, if he please, he can permit me to collect and present the evidence.

Yesterday I had a long conversation with Admiral Farragut who holds the same opinion regarding this matter as myself.

The Gunboat at the mouth of New Canal, is the "New London," commanded by Capt. Read (Lieut. Commanding). I am afraid he will be made to suffer—but it would be very unjust, for he was not deficient in vigilance, and is an honest and faithful officer. I am more in fault than he is, for I allowed myself to be deceived—though any man however vigilant, would have been deceived in the same manner.

I shall report to you promptly this progress and result of the investigation. Please excuse the hasty manner in which I am obliged to write.

P. S. Pontchitoula is in the northern part of Lake Pontchartrain—somewhat inland.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *December 17th. 1862.*

DEAR SIR: Gen. Banks and staff arrived here on the evening of Sunday the 14th, and he assumed command of the Department of the Gulf yesterday. Enclosed is Gen. Butler's final order—and Gen. Banks' order on assuming command.

I endeavor to ascertain how this change is received here and the result of my inquiries and observations is very satisfactory. Probably those most intimately connected with Gen. Butler, regret the change, and many of the loyal citizens express a fear that the new administration of affairs, will lack the vigor and ability of the former. Some also, think that injustice has been done Gen. Butler in removing him from a command where he has succeeded so admirably.

But the general expression is one of satisfaction. The fact is, that the extensive commercial proceedings which were tolerated (to say the least) by the former Commanding General, have created a general disgust. The public opinion was fixed, that these transactions were for Gen. Butler's own benefit, and the dissatisfaction on this account was intense. Gen. Butler has always been very kind to me, and assisted me whenever asked & I feel very grateful to him. But yet I believe the change is a good one. I was intending to write to you by this mail, giving considerable information about speculations here, but it is now unnecessary—and I suppose all such evils will be speedily corrected.

I have seen Gen. Banks but once, but by his invitation am to meet him to-day or to-morrow, for the purpose of giving him all the information in my possession. I shall endeavor to keep you promptly informed of everything transpiring here. Gen. Banks' troops have arrived in large numbers. I do not know whether all have come. It is not certainly known why Gen. Butler was removed. Some say it is on account of demands of France—others that it is on account of speculations—others that it is owing to representations of Admiral Farragut.

I have learned that little more in regard to the Schooner "L. L. Davis" which run into Pontchitoula. Gen. Butler believes that I am satisfied that Col. Butler had nothing to do with it. I am not so satisfied. Gen. Butler says he has ascertained that a prominent officer (I suspect he refers to Col. French—Pro. Marshal) loaded the vessel in good faith for Matamoras and that the captain ran away from him. I do not now know whether the evidence taken down will be sent to Washington. I think I shall lay the whole matter before General Banks.

I want some money. Three hundred Dollars in gold, which I brought with me, and a few hundred dollars since received by your order, have been sufficient to pay my expenses but is now consumed. I transmit to-day an official receipt for \$25,000 legal tender notes, which have just arrived to pay expenses of the office. About my own pay I wrote to you Oct. 10th. I shall not pay myself out of the \$25,000. for the fact is, I never really understood what my compensation is.

(Private.)

NEW ORLEANS, *December 23rd, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: Since the date of my last letter no important changes have occurred. The policy of Gen. Banks is not yet made public. Gen. Butler leaves to-morrow, and probably, immediately after his departure, Gen. Banks will issue new orders and proclamations. At his request I matured and submitted to him a plan for inducing the shipment of produce from the country to this City, and for furnishing abundant supplies to those living within our lines—in such a manner however, that each individual can protect his own interests, and there will be full security against improper disposition of whatever is received by him. The General approved the plan and will adopt it. By it producers and consumers will be protected from the arts of speculators and interference of officials. I will inform you of the details whenever the order appears adopting the plan, which will be very soon.

I do not know your opinions and wishes concerning Gen. Butler, but it is certain that his removal gives great satisfaction to all classes—including officers, soldiers and citizens. The hostility to him is almost entirely on account of commercial affairs. About this, I have written to you frequently. It does seem to me that many and serious wrongs have been permitted in this Department.

Gen. Banks desires that trade should be restricted as little as possible—provided nothing goes beyond our lines, and he will effect it, I think. The military commission^a—a corrupt concern—has ceased its operations—not to recommence them, I hope.

Gen. Banks tells me he intends to organize more negro regiments. Those now in the service are just as efficient for fighting or any other purpose—as any white regiments.

The colored population fear the President will revoke his proclamation. Threats of insurrection are frequent—in case the proclamation should not be made effective on the 1st. January.

After the River is opened, the whole country west of the

^aThis commission was appointed November 9, 1862, General Orders, No. 91, to administer upon sequestered property in the La Fourche district of Louisiana. Cf. letter of January 8, 1863.

Mississippi can be conquered in ninety days. Why not do it and make it free soil at once. Slavery is there dead forever, and the Mississippi River will be a convenient western boundary to the institution for the few years that it will continue to exist in the remaining Slave States.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *December 25th, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: The mail has just arrived and I see that, among other charges, Gen. Butler is accused of interfering in various ways with the Custom House, to the great injury of commerce.

Gen. Butler has interfered with the Custom House in four instances, but not more.

1st. He ordered me not to permit the shipment of specie and plate, without his written consent to each shipment. His object was to prevent property liable to confiscation, being removed from the country. The Prussian Bark, "Essex," had received on board several large cases of silver—and by Gen. Butler's orders, I refused a clearance until these cases were delivered up. They were delivered up, and clearance was then granted.

2nd. Gen. B. took possession of about \$2,000. worth of printer's paper in the warehouse, for his official newspaper, "The Delta"—on the ground that it was a military necessity.

3rd. He took possession of forty barrels of brandy (imported two or three years ago) for hospital purposes—as a military necessity.

4th. He took possession of ten bales of blankets for hospital purpose, as a military necessity.

In each of the last three instances, I have his written order to deliver up the articles to the officer presenting the order—and in each he settled, I suppose, with the owners of the articles. Except in the above instances, Gen. Butler has not interfered with the Custom House business. I make this statement for your information.

I send you a paper containing Gen. Butler's farewell address, and Gen. Banks' proclamation concerning the Emancipation Proclamation. Each article explains itself. From

appearances, I judge that Gen. Butler intends to join the extreme radicals, as the Democratic papers term the only party which (as it seems to me) appreciates the position. The Texas men are bitterly disappointed that they cannot invade Texas at once, and think great injustice has been done them. It seems to me that the thorough opening of the river is of most consequence just now—after which the whole Southwest falls easily. Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas are pretty well drained of men, but full of corn and cattle. The Rebels would like to retreat thither, but if the river is opened at once, they will be forced back toward, or into, Alabama. With the loss of the Three Southwestern states, the rebels lose one-half their material resources. They could not break through the line of defence (Mississippi River) to recover it. In no other way can the Confederate cause be so much injured, with so little expenditure on the part of the Gov't. of men, time and money. The Arkansas, White and Red Rivers and, in Louisiana, various bayous, enable Gunboats to penetrate in all directions to the heart of the country. Fifty thousand men, together with the Union forces now in Arkansas and at El Paso (Texas), would be fully able to accomplish this in two or three months, after the opening of the river—and *provided* Emancipation attended the march, success would be absolutely certain. Louisiana is virtually subdued already and wishes herself back in the Union. I hope Gen. Banks will adopt some such plan as the above and have told him so. Lest he might mistake my political position, I took the first opportunity to tell him also, what my opinions were, particularly in regard to Slavery.

According to the best information I can get—the rebels have at Vicksburg 12,000 men—at Jackson (and Grenada), 40,000—& at Port Hudson, 20,000. The men are said to be deserting very fast. Port Hudson is twenty miles above Baton Rouge and is said to be much stronger than Vicksburg. Many believe that to be the point (instead of Vicksburg) where the great fight will be.

Our troops are moving up to Baton Rouge, where perhaps 20,000 have already arrived. All the old (Butler's) regiments will probably be sent up. I should judge that the

attack on Port Hudson would take place in about ten days. Gen. Banks is expected to command in person.

Mobile is not fortified with such strength as is represented by Southern accounts. The Rebel gunboats there are of very little account. I have just seen a reliable (white) man who escaped from there five weeks ago. Admiral Farragut can take the place whenever he chooses.

Please do not authorize more officers for the Appraiser's Department, to be sent here from New York. One, Mr. Paulson, appointed by your order, has just arrived. He is one too much. I understand still another is to come. I want to keep down expenses, and this expense is entirely unnecessary. Mr. Sarjeant did wrong in making such representations as he did to you, concerning the want of Examiners here.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *January 2nd, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Everything remains nearly as when I last wrote. Troops have been moving up to Baton Rouge, and the whole army and navy here, are occupied in preparations for advancing on Port Hudson. It will certainly be captured when attacked, and according to the best information I can collect, the attack will be made in about twelve days. Gen. Banks seems disposed to occupy himself more with military and less with civil and commercial affairs than Gen. Butler did. He does not yet communicate his intentions to me so freely as Gen. Butler did.

Two regiments of infantry and a battery have gone to Galveston, to occupy that Island. I have laid before Gen. Banks a plan for the capture of Brownsville, opposite Matamoros on the Rio Grande. The occupation of this place is becoming of great consequence, on account of the great trade at that point with the Rebel states. Gen. Hamilton urges the project, and Gen. Banks seems to regard it favorable.

Gen. Hamilton asks for five thousand men. The 1st. Texas regiment (only 200 or 300 in number) accompanied the other two regiments to Galveston. Gen. Hamilton is

still here and will probably remain until the expedition goes to Brownsville. I suppose great complaints will be made of Gen. Butler when he gets North. You may be sure that Gen. Butler deserves well of the country and Government—and I believe he did no bad thing, except permitting his brother and other friends to make large sums of money—dishonorably, as I think. All the other accusations against him, which I have seen, are not true.

I do not think Gen. Butler sent to Washington the evidence respecting the schooner which run into Pontchitoula. He said the testimony would be presented to the witnesses for signature, but this has not been done.

Statements are in circulation here that you and Mr. Seward have resigned. In respect to yourself, I can truly say that the report is received by all with regret. When I say *by all*, I mean the public generally.

I have sent to you to-day a bill of lading for \$195,000.00 shipped to John J. Cisco, in accordance with your instructions.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *January 8th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: A disaster has occurred at Galveston, similar to that near Fortress Monroe when the Cumberland and Congress were destroyed.

The rebels under Magruder, came down from Houston with four boats (steam) protected by cotton bales. At the same time, a land force, estimated from 3,000 to 7,000 crossed the bridge to the Island and occupied Galveston. This occurred about one or two o'clock on the morning of Jan. 1st. About 3 o'clock an attack was made by land and water on the Gunboats—which were in the narrow channel within musket shot of the shore. The "Harriet Lane" run into a rebel boat and sunk her, but became entangled in the wreck and could not get off. She was carried by boarding and captured. Less than twenty of her men are supposed to survive (out of 130). The Westfield (Flag Ship) was aground. Commodore Renshaw sent off to the other vessels all the men and officers except eight or ten, and then blew up the vessel and himself with her. He did not intend to destroy himself, but the magazine took fire

unexpectedly, just as he was escaping. Two hundred and fifty men of a Massachusetts regiment (infantry only) were posted in the town, and were all captured or killed. The Gunboats had previous notice of the attack, and there must have been negligence on the part of the officers. Our loss is—"Harriet Lane" captured, but believed to be too much injured to be fit for sea for some time.

The "Westfield" blown up.

Two sailing vessels loaded with coal for the navy.

About 400 men killed or taken prisoners.

All the other vessels (two were Gunboats) escaped. The fight lasted from three o'clock until 10 A. M.

Admiral Farragut, on receipt of the news, immediately dispatched several vessels to Galveston, which will set things right again, I hope. The 1st. Texas Reg't., Col. Davis, arrived, after the capture, on the S. Ship "Cumbria," and narrowly escaped capture. The reg't. numbers about 200 men, who have all returned here.

The condition of things here does not seem to me to be very satisfactory—but Gen. Banks has not been here long enough to determine the prospect of improvement.

I think Gen. Banks lacks decision. With one or two exceptions, his staff are not men of ability. He seems to favor the policy of conciliation—which policy is weak and will always be unsuccessful. I can hardly get him to express an opinion—or if he does, it does not seem to be an earnest conviction. Secessionists grow more defiant and Union men despondent. This, I hope, and think, will be changed. I believe he is thoroughly honest, and he already has effected much good by putting down swindlers and army speculators. Gen. Butler's military commission (Gen. Orders No. 91) did an immense amount of mischief and injustice. Gen. Butler is an extraordinary man, but did very wrong in all things connected with internal trade. I have frequently heard Union men say they wished he was President, for though he would make millions for himself during the first three months, he would finish the war in three months more.

Gen. Banks has a very difficult position, for he comes here a stranger and four weeks at least are necessary for him to become informed of the situation.

The Government can finish this war in twelve months—in one way and in only one. Arm the negroes. I am perfectly satisfied it must be done. Why delay it? It can be done here without throwing the border states into a fever. Here and in S. Carolina and not well elsewhere. I called upon Gen. Banks this morning and urged the matter on his attention, as I have often done before. He agreed with me that the war could be finished in that way, but seems afraid of taking the responsibility. I wish I could assume the responsibility for him. I would suggest that you write me a letter to be shown to Gen. Banks, giving your opinion of the expediency of raising negro troops, and stating how such a step will be regarded by the Administration. If he is assured in this manner that the Government will approve, perhaps he will enlist the negroes. There are at least 20,000 black men within our lines who will make good and willing soldiers, 50,000 more can be raised west of the Mississippi as our army advances.

The three colored regiments already organized, have petitioned Gen. Banks to be put in the front rank at Port Hudson, that they may have a chance of removing the stigma of alleged cowardice from their race, and vindicate their rights and abilities as soldiers. I urge him to grant their request, but do not know what he will do about it. The negroes all say they can finish the war if the Gov't. will give them a chance. By no other means is success certain. Why delay it?

If it had not been for speculations in the sugar crops, Gen. Butler would have raised more regiments, but the men were wanted on the plantations to take off the crops.

Our last dates from the North are of the 20th. December. It is rumored that Gen. Butler may go into the Cabinet. I almost wish he would. He is a man of wonderful energy, will, and ability, and will always be admired by the Union men of New Orleans, even though he is believed by some to have acquired great wealth here.

Military affairs remain in the same condition as when I last wrote. Port Hudson has not been attacked and I don't know when it will be. The rebels are said to be receiving re-inforcements there.

P. S. Gen. Hamilton is still here.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *January 15th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: A fight is progressing on Bayou Teche. Gen. Weitzel commands. He crossed Berwick's Bay yesterday morning, and has advanced up the Teche as far as the enemy's fortifications. The enemy have 1,100 infantry and 1,000 cavalry. Weitzel will succeed without doubt, and advance to New Iberia, where fortifications will be erected by us. The rebel salt works near New Iberia, are yielding one million pounds per day. It is carried all over the Southern States. If this movement is successful, these works will be destroyed. The Teche country is full of sugar. This present movement is simply carrying out Gen. Butler's plan of operations. I urged it a week ago, but advised a flank movement. Gen. Banks has thought best to attack in front. I have traveled through that country several times, and know it well.

The U. S. armed Transport, "Hatteras", was sunk by the "Alabama" on Sunday the 11th inst. The fight lasted about 45 minutes, and occurred sixteen miles from Galveston. The Flag officer there sent the "Hatteras" out to overhaul a strange sail—which proved to be the "Alabama", and proved too powerful for her antagonist. Six men of the "Hatteras" escaped in a boat—the rest of the crew were killed or captured. The "Hatteras" carried ninety men. The "Brooklyn" and other vessels lying off Galveston, immediately started for the "Alabama", but could find nothing of her. The rebels have not attempted to come out of Galveston Bay with the "Harriet Lane". She is still lying in the Harbor, and I do not know why our Gunboats do not go in and destroy her.

Major Gen. Augur has at last been sent to Baton Rouge to take command, and organize the force there. There begins to be exhibited in this department some little energy and activity. All that is now done, ought to have been done four weeks ago.

The business of "Special Agent" under regulations of August 28th, is not *now* interfered with by military authorities. In consequence of this non-interference I have organized it with great success. I am satisfied that nothing, or very little, reaches the enemy from this port—and the plant-

ers within our lines are supplying themselves rapidly with whatever they need for their own use. I supervise everything myself and have an immense amount of labor to perform. I hear that large amounts of merchandise and supplies reach the enemy from Memphis and vicinity. This can be avoided by honestly adopting the right plan. Trade must be centralized and none allowed except at one or few points. I prevent it as far as possible, outside of the city, and can therefore control it. This plan is well adapted to this country, because property real and personal, is in the hands of a few planters. It is easy (and has been customary heretofore) for each planter to come to the City—take the proper oaths and be made individually responsible for whatever he wishes to take out of the City. Every boat going up the river, carries an "Aid to the Revenue" who sees that the supplies are delivered only at the proper plantation. I have to employ many additional "aids", but make the system pay its own expenses. My personal supervision of all the details is an immense labor, but I know it will be well done if I attend to it myself—otherwise not.

The planters within and without our lines have been afraid to bring their crops of sugar and cotton because it was seized and must pass through the hands of the military commission. Gen. Butler's military commission was a dishonest plundering concern. By the enclosed order of Gen. Banks, you will see that planters are invited to bring their crops to the City and promised protection. It will have a good and marked effect. This order will not interfere with my action as "Special Agent."

The system of furnishing supplies to planters—adopted by me, gives satisfaction to planters—but dissatisfaction to the great number of Jews, military speculators, and men from the North, who expect to swindle planters out of fortunes.

It is known here that the President has issued his proclamation, but its terms are not fully known. Gen. Banks told me this morning he is going to raise negro troops, but I fear, not in large numbers. I have information that the number of rebel troops in Texas is about 9,000—of whom one-third are cavalry. They are provided with good arms

brought through Mexico. About one-third of them are conscripts.

The number of troops in Louisiana, west of the Mississippi, is about 4,500—nearly all of whom are in the Teche country.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *January 16th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I have just been informed by Gen. Banks that the expedition to the Teche under Weitzel, was completely successful and accomplished all he intended. The rebels had in the Bayou a large and powerful gunboat called the "Cotton", which boat got aground below their fortifications. This boat we destroyed. They have no other boats in any of the bayous below Red River.

Gen. Banks can now take the Teche country whenever he pleases. Weitzel's force has returned, but, I judge, Gen. Banks intends occupying the country by flank movement according to suggestions made by me at first.

I hear much complaint of Gen. Banks that he has not accomplished, or prepared to accomplish, anything—that his time is occupied in listening to complaints of secessionists—that four weeks of fine weather have been lost without military operations—that no step has been taken to open the river—and other similar complaints.

Gen. Banks told me this morning, he cannot yet undertake the opening of the river, because he has no cavalry—no transportation—no medicines, &c. He says everything has been done that ought to have been—and that he shall operate up the River at the earliest day possible. I will say one thing strongly in his favor—that he conceals his plans (whatever they may be) perfectly—and I hardly think even the members of his staff know his intentions.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *January 26th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: The situation is the same as when I last wrote. There is no movement of troops, so far as I am informed, and there appears to be no probability of an advance in any direction.

The New York papers will state that the "Harriet Lane" has escaped from Galveston and gone to sea. This is not true. She is still in the harbor according to official advices just received here.

It is rumored here that the "Oviato" has been captured. Admiral Farragut does not believe it. When she escaped from Mobile the "Cuyler" went in pursuit and neither vessel has yet been heard from.

Three days ago a steamer supposed to be the Alabama appeared at the mouth of the river, and then steered off in a southwest direction. The Admiral sent a vessel from here (The Mississippi) to follow her. As the "Alabama" is the faster vessel and had a start of 100 miles, and the Mississippi started from here 24 hours after the Rebel vessel was seen—it is not probable that anything will be effected.

It should not be forgotten that here is the place to make the proclamation effective. I am afraid Gen. Banks will never do it. He decides and moves too slowly and is too much afraid of responsibilities. He does not seem to regard with favor the three fine regiments already raised, and declines putting them in the field. I told you that they had sent him a petition to be put in the front rank at Port Hudson, that they might remove from their race the stigma of cowardice, etc. In all the regiments Gen. Banks brought with him, three cannot be selected so efficient as these three colored regiments, and in my opinion, they would be worth any five of the raw regiments Gen. Banks brought with him. I see Gen. Banks almost every day, but am perfectly ignorant of his plans and intentions. I do not wish to retract or qualify any statement in my late letters to you—nor in a letter to Mr. Flanders which I asked him to show you.

If my letters are uninteresting or too frequent, please inform me.

NEW ORLEANS, *January 29th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I have to-day transmitted my bond as Special Agt. and Acting Collector. The sureties are men of abundant means, and were selected as being the most respectable

and worthy representatives of the Union residents of this city. For good reasons, I was careful to choose such persons, rather than any of the numerous and wealthy speculators. Judge Peabody remarked that the justification of the sureties, etc., was before the highest and best authority here at any rate.

I have reason to believe that a speedy movement on the Teche country, is in preparation and will soon be carried into effect. This is the movement of which I have so frequently spoken.

In other respects military affairs are in the same condition as at the date of my last letter.

Two vessels, as I am informed, were captured by the Rebels at Sabine Pass, Texas, in the same manner as was the "Harriet Lane." One of the vessels was destroyed. They were sailing transports, I believe, and probably of not much consequence.

Enclosed is an order just issued, of Gen. Banks, "promulgating the Emancipation proclamation."

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 1st, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Everything is quiet on the Mississippi. There have been no military movements. Appearances indicate that something is to be attempted before long, but I do not know what it will be.

Gen. Banks has authorized the raising of the 4th. Reg't. "Native Guards" (colored) and it is filling up rapidly. The Lieut. Colonel is Mr. Hill, correspondent of the New York Herald. More regiments will be raised, but I do not know how many. Gen. Banks' policy in regard to the enlistment of negroes, seems to me timorous and hesitating. He might have 50,000 in the service in three months—yes, 100,000 by energetically adopting the proper means.

An army of negroes could be made most formidable. They could be inspired with a religious enthusiasm as terrible and persistent as that of the followers of Mahomet. Such blind impulses, directed by a controlling mind, have accomplished great things. But no prominent man is here shrewd enough to originate, or smart enough to execute

such a project. I say again, what I have often said before, that the negroes will fight this war for us, and succeed, if we will use them, and here is the place to commence. Perhaps you are aware that, for various reasons, the negroes of Louisiana are much superior in all respects to those of Virginia and of the other Atlantic States. One hundred and fifty refugees have arrived from Matamoras. I wish to remind you again, of the growing importance of the trade across the Rio Grande. A Confederate agent named Swisher, left Matamoras last June to buy arms in Europe. He has just returned to Matamoras, and three cargoes of arms bought by him in Europe, are expected to arrive shortly in Matamoras—or rather at the mouth of the Rio Grande. How all this can be stopped I explained in my last letter.

There is a person here of the Jewish persuasion—an Israelite indeed—named Dr. Zachary, who is said lately to have been a healer of corns and bunions, in New York. His vest is of flowered velvet—his hair beautifully oiled—and his presence distills continual perfume sweeter than the winds that blow from Araby the blest. In season and out of season, he fails not to announce himself as the *Confidential Agent*, or *Correspondent*, of the President. A smart little lawyer, named Shaw, used to write for him his letters from here to the President, which Zachary copied and forwarded as his own. Shaw was on Gen. Hamilton's staff, but has returned to New York. His address is *Charles P. Shaw*, 111 Broadway. I don't know who writes Zachary's letters now—perhaps he does it himself. Jews take to trade, as ducks to water. Dr. Zachary could not fulfill his mission without the co-operation of one Simon. That co-operation would be imperfect without Simon took a stock of goods to Baton Rouge for sale, in order to conceal the object of Simon's stay at that place. Notwithstanding these representations, and at the risk of impairing the Doctor's efficiency as Government agent, I refused to let the goods go up the River without a written order from Gen. Banks. The result was, that the order was issued. Simon took up to Baton Rouge nearly \$20,000 worth of goods (including quantities of spiritous liquors), and Dr. Zachary will probably have no reason to repent the venture.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 4th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 19th. Jan. is just received. The steamer is about to leave and I have time to reply only partially and in haste. You wish me to be "Sp. Agt. and Acting Surveyor", or "Commissioner of Internal Revenue." Please put me in the place where you want me most, and where I can be most useful to you. I shall write more fully by next mail.

I wish to call your attention to the importance of Special Agent in reference to Regulations of August 28th. If you make me Sp. Agt. and Acting Surveyor, I should think all that business had better be managed and controlled by me, as I am familiar with it, having devoted much attention to it—and as my system is the only one, whereby, without benefit to the enemy, the wants of the country can be supplied. I know nothing of the character of the second office mentioned by you, and shall defer speaking of it until the next mail. I cannot refrain from asking that no general change be made in the subordinate officers, to make places for the New Collector's friends. Those selected by me, and now holding the important positions, accepted office when it was not pleasant or very desirable—and are skilled, honest, efficient and of tried loyalty. Some of them relinquished good places in New York, and came here at your request. Mr. Gray the D'y. Collector, who is brother in law of Mr. Godwin of the Evening Post, is one of these.

I think it the duty of the Government to see that these men be not dismissed without cause.

By the next armed transport for New York, I shall forward what specie is in my hands.

Mr. Walton (New City Treasurer) of whom Mr. Flanders spoke to you, is an excellent man for any place.

To whatever place you assign me, I ought to have an opportunity for a few days or weeks of conferring with Mr. Bullitt, that he may be informed concerning the thousand details peculiar to this position, which otherwise he will be months in learning.

I thank you again and again for the kind expression of your approval. This alone repays any amount of labor and effort.

A great military movement commences shortly—in three or four days perhaps. An advance will be made up the Teche with a large force, and right through to Red River. I know no more of it than this. Port Hudson will not be troubled, as this movement is on the west side of the Mississippi. This comes direct from Gen. Banks.

As I have to settle up, please let me know what my compensation is that no mistake may occur. Twenty words will inform me, and I never yet knew.

Pardon the imperfect manner in which I am obliged to write.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 5th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: The steamer did not leave yesterday as was expected, and now I can reply to your letter with less hesitation.

I choose the office of "Commissioner of Internal Revenue" as it is termed in your letter, and will assume the duties thereof whenever you direct. I suppose it to be an office requiring my constant presence here, and whatever its duties may be, I can discharge them to your satisfaction. Full instructions and all printed information will, of course, be supplied to me.

I sent to you Gen. Banks' order respecting trade as soon as it was issued, and regret you did not receive it. You are mistaken in supposing it contemplates trade with the enemy—of any kind or degree. Gen. Banks is utterly opposed to any such proceeding. The General's English is not always good and his orders not always clear.

Do not think from my letter about Dr. Zachary, that I intended to cast suspicion on Gen. Banks, who is not only a kind and pleasant gentleman, but also, I am satisfied, a thoroughly honest man. Dr. Zachary applied to me an hour ago, for another of his Israelite friends to take a large stock of goods to Donaldsonville. The reason given is the same as before—that the Dr. wants his friends' cooperation, which would be imperfect unless said friend pretends to be selling goods. I don't believe a word of it. The Doctor pretends to be my best friend, but I think him a humbug.

I sent him to the General for an order and he has not yet returned.

Notwithstanding my personal regard for Gen. Banks, I repeat the conviction so often expressed before, that he is not the man for this important place. Gen. Butler is the only man who is equal to the situation, and he ought to come back.

I kept you well informed about Gen. Butler while he was here, and you know whatever wrong things were done by him. Four fifths of the accusations against him are false.

I shall do everything in my power to help Mr. Bullitt when he assumes the duties of the office.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 7th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I wrote you by the last steamer expressing a wish to receive the office of "Commissioner of Internal Revenue" which you so kindly offered. I now repeat the wish, and am ready to commence operations whenever you direct.

The great military movement up the West side of the Mississippi has commenced to-day or will commence in a day or two. The bayous leading from the Teche and near there, lead right through to Red River, so that light draft boats can go through them above Port Hudson. About 9,000 men will advance in one column.

A rumor prevails here among the secessionists that we have been whipped off Mobile and that Ship Island is captured. The story is without foundation, though you may see it in N. Y. papers. A very strong feeling is arising among the planters against Gen. Banks. The reason is that he is not sufficiently pro-slavery to suit them. I think statements have been sent to Washington that he has commenced speculating. I am confident such charges are entirely false. I do not think Gen. Banks a great commander, but believe him to be completely honest.

Admiral Farragut has gone out to sea in his flagship, the

“Hartford”—probably for the purpose of visiting the various blockading vessels along the coast.

In my next I shall have occasion to say something more about Dr. Zachary.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 8th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I received to-day a letter signed by you, of date Jan. 22nd, whereby I am appointed Special Agent and Acting Surveyor.

Your unofficial letter of 19th January, offered me the place above mentioned, or that of “Commissioner of Internal Revenue,” directing me to choose that which I best liked. I chose the latter, and informed you by letter written yesterday. I do not want to be Acting Surveyor unless you particularly desire it.

The Commissioner of Customs also sends me a bond to be given by myself as Acting Surveyor, in the sum of Five Thousand Dollars. I have just given a bond for Fifty Thousand, as Acting Collector. I shall avoid troubling my friends by asking their names upon so many bonds, and shall therefore defer compliance with the commissioner’s directions until I hear directly from you again.

I did not expect to receive the letters of to-day, because you had given to me the choice. My letter of yesterday was in reply to yours of the 19th. Jan. Wherever I am I shall give Mr. Bullitt all the assistance in my power; and continue, as well as possible, to keep you informed of events occurring here.

Enclosed is an order, and printed statement of a plan regulating the relations between planters and negroes. The documents have not been officially issued, and the plan is under consideration. These copies are only proof sheets which I privately obtained from the printing office, to send to you.

There is no news to-day, and I cannot learn positively whether Weitzel’s great expedition has started. The troops

for the expedition have been collected in the Lafourche Country and have been ready several days.

Mr. Gray, Dy. Collector, should remain here by all means.

(Private and Confidential)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 12th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed is General Orders No. 14—in part concerning Plantation supplies, etc.

Also, copy of contract between T. P. May, an intelligent and progressive planter, and white laborers to be employed by him in raising cotton and sugar. It is a great experiment and Mr. May is the man to succeed in it. He is a young man—at heart an Abolitionist, and his plantation is one of the finest in Louisiana.

My late announcement of the commencement of military movements was premature. Everything moves very slowly here. The movement has not actually commenced however.

A force under Weitzel will advance up the Teche. Another force will advance westwardly from Plaquemine on the River. The two forces will meet at New Iberia or St. Martinsville.

Bute la Rose is a lake or wide bayou between Plaquemine and St. Martinsville, and at this point is a rebel battery and fortifications. This will be reduced by the Plaquemine force aided by gunboats.

After the junction of the two forces at or near St. Martinsville a force of 3,000 or 4,000 will be detached and accompany the gunboats up the Atchafalaya bayou to Red River near its mouth.

The Gunboats to be used are those built by Gen. Butler—of very light draft and iron-clad.

You will understand the above statement by reference to the Rebel map I sent you.

Affairs here are not in a prosperous condition. Great dissatisfaction exists in at least some portions of the army. Even Gen. Banks new troops to some extent—and Butler's old troops to a man, would hail Butler's return with enthusiasm. Banks' policy seems to be conciliatory and hesitating.

He seems afraid of responsibilities. General Butler is utterly fearless. Several desertions have occurred, by soldiers who wish to be taken and paroled, but this is kept secret here.

It is my opinion that Government has made exchanges too easy. It would be better to allow no exchange of prisoners. Then we should not hear of disgraceful surrenders—or of desertions by men sick of the service. In this and other respects the war should be made sharper and more earnest. The greater advantage of exchanges as now permitted, is in favor of the Rebels, and the disadvantage is our own. Our men will not so easily surrender and rarely desert, if they know they must endure, for the rest of the war, the privations and discomforts of the Confederacy. Now they have every inducement to do both.

Gen. Banks seems to me to be no judge of men. He selects honest subordinates for the most part—but his staff are, generally, green, inexperienced—of little ability—and one or two of them are fit objects of ridicule. Conciliation, inefficiency, inexperience and hesitation characterize all proceedings. There is no use in such criticism, however, when the President himself sends here as his private correspondent a vulgar little scoundrel like Dr. Zachary—who takes bribes and whose only object is to make money.

Personally I like Gen. Banks exceedingly, but a Northern man needs six months experience here in order to be efficient in this peculiar country and among its peculiar people. Gen. Butler has that experience, and his return would at once change everything for the better.

The nine months men are dissatisfied and demoralized. I think Butler could not only remove such feeling, but make most of them re-enlist. Whatever Butler did, pleased and satisfied the Army, because they had confidence in, and admired him. This is not at all true of Gen. Banks.

The sooner Gen. Butler comes back the better it will be.

In one respect there is a very disagreeable condition of things here. A host of speculators, Jews and camp-followers, came hither in the track of Banks' expedition. They have continued to arrive and every steamer brings an addition to the number. Each expects to be a millionaire in

six months. They have few scruples about the means of satisfying their cupidity.

I regard them as natural enemies, and in our constant war, they are generally worsted. The whole crowd, and Dr. Zachary among them, with eager expectancy like wolves about to seize their prey, await the advent of the new collector, who is a good natured man, and supposed to be easily imposed upon.

I think that spies, intriguers, dishonest speculators, and liars are more abundant here now than any where else in America. It seems as if everything must be accomplished by intrigue and management. It was not so three months ago.

In troublous times like these each man of merit has opinions—proclaims them—defends and sustains them, else he is, politically speaking, a “trimmer.”

I told Gen. Banks so the other day.

I am not familiar with Banks' political history. Was he ever a Trimmer?

Perhaps he is a conservative! To a friend of mine Gen. Banks the other day declared himself to be neither a pro-slavery nor anti-slavery man.

What is he then?

I do not know, Mr. Chase, anything about your feelings toward Gen. Banks or any one else, but write always my own opinions without reference to those of others.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 26th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: The military movements lately in contemplation, have, I think, been given up. This opinion may be incorrect, but is based upon the best information I can gather. The authorities attempt to maintain great secrecy in all their steps. All the contortions of the Sybil are presented without any of her inspiration. Thus far, except in preparation, the accomplishments of Gen. Banks amount to nothing. It is my opinion that a grand attack direct upon Port Hudson, is intended. If so, it may come off in four

or five weeks, and I should think the chances of failure and of success will be about equal.

I do not think Gen. Banks favors the enlistment of negroes. There has been some trouble about Butler's three regiments, because most of their officers are colored, and the New England soldier could not consent to present arms to a colored officer and treat him with necessary respect. The good sense of the negroes themselves would have obviated this difficulty, if Gen. Banks had followed their suggestions. They presented to him a petition asking that the three Regiments be brigaded together, and not be mingled with the other troops, but, as they have often requested, be assigned to some post of danger where they might be able to establish a good name for themselves. This request has not been granted.

The 4th. Reg't. Native Guards, authorized by Gen. Banks, is nearly full. I understand he has permitted a Fifth to be raised. But this is nothing compared with what can and should be done. Gen. Banks seems to be much guided by his West Point officers, most of whom for some reason or other, have prejudices against negro troops. Gen. Phelps is a distinguished exception. I am glad to see his nomination as Major General. Except Gen. Phelps no officer in this Department came near Gen. Butler in ability. And this was the real ground, I believe, of their disagreement. The Department of the Gulf was not large enough for two such men. Each was of too emphatic character, too self-willed and determined in opinion, to get along well with the other. The fortifications built by the Rebels about the city are being strengthened and guns mounted on them. We never used to think the recapture of the City possible, defended by only a few thousand men *and* Gen. Butler.

I used to have great admiration for McClellan, based on opinions formed among the rebels, who always spoke of him with respect—as well as of Buell. Gen. Banks is regarded by them as a *gentleman*. This is not a good sign. But they hated Lyon, and hate Rosecrans and Hunter and Butler and Phelps, and all who do not believe in conciliation. They like to be conciliated.

The Department of the Gulf is too big a machine to be run by any one except B. F. Butler. I am afraid from late accounts that he is not to return here. Perhaps Mr. Seward is hostile to him.

This is less a Union City now than when Gen. Banks came here. There is more manifestation of disloyalty than at any time during the Summer. And the reason is that no punishment, or insufficient punishment, follows offenses. It won't do, you know, to be hard on a gentleman for exercising his constitutional right of abusing the United States. Judge Peabody of the Provisional Court, is also Provost Judge. Judge Peabody is a mistake. As Provost Judge, he is only a small magistrate. A man throws up his hat and hurrahs for Jeff. Davis in the street. Judge P. fines him five dollars. An enthusiastic rebel does not repent that price for so great a privilege. Butler would have sent the offender to Fort Jackson and neither he nor any acquaintance of his, would have committed the offense again.

The policy of conciliation, in whatever form, is useless, absurd and hurtful, and whoever adopts it may justly be accused of expecting a nomination for the Presidency. I expect Mr. Bullitt on Sunday the 1st. of March. We shall work well together, and nothing shall be wanting on my part, to make the management of the Custom House as efficient as heretofore.

(Private and Confidential.)

NEW ORLEANS, *February 27th, 1863.*

SIR: In your letter lately received, you refer to an order of Gen. Banks with regard to trade, expressing apprehension that trade with the enemy was contemplated. This is a mistaken apprehension. Gen. Banks has, however, permitted such trade in one instance, the facts relating to which I now place before you.

Gen. Banks sent one or two men into the Opelousas territory above the Teche, to collect information, influence public opinion, etc., in which they were, to some extent, successful. As a pledge of his good faith, and as a reward in part to

the men above mentioned, to prevent the burning of cotton and to conciliate generally, the General Commanding gave the enclosed permission for shipment of merchandise into territory beyond our lines. You will observe that the order enclosed is not entirely imperative; it is as much so, however, as any of his orders to me. I yielded a reluctant compliance therewith. It is necessary to state that the permission was given in contemplation of an immediate occupation of the country to which the goods were sent, by our forces. So far as I have been able to ascertain, the expedition to effect that occupation has been given up for the present. A small schooner took the permitted goods to their destination a week ago.

The reasons influencing Gen. Banks to order that a permit should be given for the shipment of these goods, and which I have here detailed, are gathered by me from the General and from the parties making the shipment. The principal object I believe to have been to so obtain the good will of the planters of that district, (where there is a great amount of cotton,) by conciliation, that they should not destroy their cotton on the advance of our army among them. The principal party making the shipment, is, and has been for years, the regular commercial agent of 3500 planters in the parish of Lafayette and vicinity.

You are already familiar with my opinions regarding all trade with the enemy. I restate my belief emphatically, that it is infinitely more advantageous to the rebels than to us; that the only good accruing therefrom, except to the enemy, is to the benefit of dishonest speculators; that its demoralizing effect upon the army is great; that for many other reasons it should, in no case, be permitted. As to the policy of conciliation, to me it always seems ineffectual, useless.

Former permits from Gen. Butler, similar to this, you referred to in your correspondence with that officer. I desire that Gen. Banks be not informed that I have sent you the enclosed list with the order annexed.

Permit by General Banks.

[This statement and the accompanying order in the manuscript were found by the editor with the letter of March 21. They seem to belong with that of February 27, and not being dated it has seemed best to insert them where they seem to belong.]

1 Doz. Common Overcoats,	1 Sett Buckets or Tubs.
1 " " Jackets,	1 Box Sweet Meats.
1 " " Vests,	10 Bbls. Flour.
1 " " Pantallons,	40 Bags Salt.
12 Prs. " Blankets,	2 Boxes Cheng Tobacco. "com- mon."
1 Doz. " Fur Hats,	2 Gross Matches.
4 pces. Twell Red Flannel	1 Box 1 Gross Blacking.
2 " " Blue Do	10 Bags Coffee.
2 " White Do	12 Reams Wrap'g. Paper.
12 " Merrimac Calico,	1 Do. Writing Do.
6 " Black Do.	Pens, Ink, and Pencils,
10 " Brown Sheetting 4/4	10 Boxes Codfish.
6 " Twell Do.	6/2 Bbls. Mackerel.
6 Doz. Coats Thread.	6 Boxes Herrings.
4 " Flax "	10 Bbl. Potatoes.
1000 Apr. Needles,	1 Doz. Mule Collars.
2 Gross Bone Buttons,	1 Do. Bridles.
2 " Small Do.	1 Do. Chain Traces.
6 Pcs. Brown Denims,	1 Do. Hoes.
12 " Gingham.	1 Do. Spades.
6 Doz. Hickory Shirts.	1 Do. Axes and Handles.
4 Do Wool Undershirts.	3 Rolls Leather.
6 Do. Cotton Pocket Handks.	20 Boxes Soap.
6 Pcs. Silk Common Do.	3 Bales Bagging.
6 Doz. Madrass Do.	10 Coils Rope.
2 Doz. Cotton Hose for ladies.	20 " Twine.
200 " Sides.	200 " Hams.
200 " Shoulders.	2 Doz. Packing Needles.
1 Box Pipes.	6 Boxes Men and Ladies' Shoes.
2 " Segars.	
1 One Case Saddlery.	

Honorable Mr. DENISON, *Collector, etc.*

SIR:—I have consented upon full satisfaction that no advantage will be given to the enemy or his supporters, that the goods specified herein may be shipped to the plantations—150 in number—in the Parish of Lafayette, entering from Vermillion Bay, or its vicinity. The schooner which takes the goods to return with cotton to be sold in New Orleans for U. S. currency. Please observe the manner in which the goods are shipped and as far as may be proper, the execution of the laws.

N. P. BANKS, *M. G. C.*

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *March 7th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Of late my letters have been destitute of interest. The reason is simple—I have nothing to say. I have but little to say now.

No military movements have been made. The whole energy of the Department is occupied apparently, in preparations for a grand attack on Port Hudson. The intended expedition up the Teche to Red River, was relinquished, as you have been informed. Officers recently from Baton Rouge think the movement on Port Hudson will occur in about three weeks. Gen. Banks went up the River this afternoon, and many people in the city think the attack is to be made at once. I have not asked Gen. Banks anything about it, as he evidently dislikes to reveal his intentions.

My opinions concerning the management of the Department—the comparative merits of Butler and Banks—the necessity of Gen. Butler's return, etc.—remain unchanged. It seems to me a great opportunity has been lost. Since Banks' arrival a large negro army might have been enrolled and made efficient. Gen. Banks is evidently opposed to such measures, though they would not have interfered with other operations. As it is, but one regiment has been raised. From twenty to Fifty thousand ought now to be ready for the field in this Department—and they alone could have cleaned out Louisiana. Without authority Gen. Butler raised three regiments. If he had been here since the 1st. January I think he would have a large colored army in process of organization. This thing must be done, and the sooner the better.

From what I can learn, Gen. Butler is probably not to return here. His presence here now would be worth ten thousand men. My admiration for him increases every day, as continued opportunities occur, of comparing his command with the present. I have *certain* information that if he does return, his brother Col. Butler will immediately depart. I have been engaged this week in assisting Mr. Bullitt, who arrived a week ago. We shall get along well together. As acting Collector of Internal Revenue, I

have done nothing, but shall write you about it by next mail. Are you not going to appoint an assessor?

I have just learned that all available troops have started for Baton Rouge. Perhaps the attack comes off soon.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, *March 14th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Baton Rouge is now the center of interest to everybody in this Department. On the day of writing my last letter, Gen. Banks went up the River. The whole Fleet (except two or three vessels) followed him.

As near as I can ascertain, the situation is as follows.

Gen. Banks has about Forty Thousand men at Baton Rouge, where he has recently erected fortifications. He is quite deficient in cavalry, but well supplied with Artillery. Most of his troops are raw, and the nine months men, whose time is almost expired, are not in good spirits.

The enemy is supposed to have within call of Port Hudson, more men than Banks and better because most of them are veterans. I should think it almost impossible to take Port Hudson by land attack, unless Banks' army is much increased in size and efficiency. It is supposed that Admiral Farragut will run by the batteries with his whole fleet, in which case he would clean out the whole river, and both Vicksburg and Port Hudson would be much distressed for provisions.

Banks sent forward three Brigades last Wednesday or Thursday, but it is said that they have returned. But I think it only a feint that Farragut may be enabled to get past the batteries, and that they will not return until something of the kind is accomplished. The wires are down between here and Baton Rouge and we have no later intelligence. I intend to go up there in a few days, so that I can report to you the exact condition of things, together with probable results.

Gen. Banks' plan for employing the negroes is working well, and the planters express much satisfaction. I sent you the proof sheet of this plan, some time before it was made public. The negroes receive a small proportion

of the net proceeds, and are obliged to remain on the plantation one year, after they have once returned and entered into agreement to that effect. Gen. Banks has authorized no more negro enlistments (after the 4th. Reg't.)

The rebels are building large boats across the lake, and collecting other vessels, with the intention as is supposed, of attempting an attack on New Orleans. It is said this attack is to be made immediately after they have driven Banks back from Port Hudson—which they expect to do very easily. I do not think they will try to come across the Lake, the attempt would be almost hopeless.

Mr. Bullitt seems to be getting along very well—but he has with him as confidential adviser, a man named Draper from N. Y., who is the biggest fool I ever saw. I still have in my hands about \$50,000. balance of duties collected, which I did not turn over to Mr. Bullitt, there being no specific instructions to that effect. I shall send this on in the manner prescribed by you as soon as possible.

I am preparing an office for Internal Revenue business and arranging books, papers, etc. This is all I can do without an assessor, and probably all you expect me to do. An assessor should be appointed at once.

I wish to suggest to you the importance of securing Mr. B. F. Flanders to the service of the Government. Some office should be given him here, for there is no man who could be of greater service to the Treasury Department than Mr. Flanders, and no one is more deserving. The Mr. Walton whom he recommended to you, is an excellent business man, but has not much influence, I think. He is a perfectly honest man, but does not seem to have enemies or friends. In another letter I have asked you to direct \$10,000 worth of stamps to be sent to me without being paid for beforehand. Under the circumstances, the request is reasonable and I hope you will grant it.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 21st, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: From the newspapers you will obtain as much information, regarding late operations near Port Hudson as

I am able to give you. Gen. Banks is still up the River, but is expected to return soon. I have delayed writing until this last moment, with the hope of seeing some officer lately arrived from above, or Gen. Banks himself.

The "Hartford" and "Albatross" are above the Rebel batteries, and are believed to be not much injured. The Mississippi was destroyed. No other vessels were materially injured and our loss in men was small. One Brigade of Gen. Banks' troops is on the West side of the River opposite Port Hudson. It is said that other vessels can run past the batteries whenever it becomes necessary.

I am satisfied that my statement of the number of troops on either side, was exaggerated. This statement was made in my last letter. I am informed that the column which advanced under Banks was 18,000 strong, four or five thousand being left at Baton Rouge. The late demonstration is said to have been for the purpose of assisting Farragut in passing the batteries. The presence of Gov't. vessels above Port Hudson is of the utmost importance, as thereby the rebel supplies via Red River, are cut off. What are the plans of Gen. Banks and the Admiral, I am unable to say.

It seems to me that Government does not appreciate the great importance of the Mississippi River. The rebels do. The great interest of the war is gradually centering on this River, and ultimately the contest will be decided here.

For military purposes, the various positions on the River are peculiar. On the west bank for its whole length, there are no bluffs nor places favorable to fortification, but the whole shore is level and even.

On the East Bank however, are many high bluffs easily made formidable. Coming down the River, the first of these places held by the rebels, is Vicksburg—the lowest is Port Hudson. Between these two are 4 or 5 other similar positions, of which Grand Gulf is one and Port Adams another—but none are fortified except the two first mentioned. Port Hudson is the terminus of a railroad and so is Vicksburg. None of the others are. Port Hudson is below the mouth of Red River—down which come all the vast rebel supplies from the West, and these supplies are protected by the Port Hudson fortifications.

Once open the River, and occupy the six or seven high bluffs above mentioned, on the left bank of the River, and the rebels could never control the River again.

A great mistake was made in sending raw troops with Gen. Banks. None of them had ever seen service, and many of the regiments did not receive muskets until they landed in New Orleans. Had these forces or one half of them, been experienced troops, Gen. Banks could have taken Port Hudson and controlled the River at once. I think he could have done it any way, for it was a weak place then, but Banks is a cautious man. Now Port Hudson is very strong and I hardly think Banks can take it. We need here more troops and the best the Government has—and Gen. Butler at the head. Without doubt, people in Washington feel the liveliest interest in events occurring near them, and thinking of Virginia and North Carolina so much, they fail to comprehend the greater importance of the Mississippi Valley. Our possession of the Mississippi will cut the enemy in two, and will speedily end the war. I have frequently made these same statements to you heretofore. I think it will take 200,000 men above and here to open the river—but (by fortifying the strong places above mentioned) Seventy Thousand men can keep it open and protect it. I hoped the great expedition on the Atlantic coast was coming here. They could take Port Hudson at once and then go away to other business.

Gen. Banks troops are not yet efficient because raw. We need better men here—more men—and need them at once with B. F. B. at their head. I received yesterday intelligence from Matamoras. There are Seventy-five sail there, waiting to discharge cargo. Most of them are from foreign ports. Undoubtedly most of these cargoes will go to the benefit of the enemy.

Mr. Bullitt does very well. I had no high opinion of his business ability and have less now. He is a pleasant gentleman, and what is called generally a first rate fellow. Fortunately he appreciates his inexperience, and is docile and tractable. His presence lightens my labor but little—I have nearly as much to do as heretofore.

Concerning the Internal Revenue, no instructions have

yet been received, and nothing is known of the needed appointment of Assessor. Cotton begins to come in from beyond our lines, generally against the wish of the Rebel authorities. I have commenced collecting the tax on it.

The action of the Assessor is necessary before almost any tax can be collected. Unless an assessor is soon to be appointed, I make the following request. That authority be given me to act, also, as assessor in respect to sugar, cotton and licenses. Or—that I be authorized to appoint, temporarily, an assessor to discharge the duties of that office in respect to sugar, cotton and licenses.

At present here, manufactures, except Sugar, do not amount to much. The distillation of liquors is prohibited by military order.

Accounts are frequently received from across the Lake. The rebels everywhere are greatly distressed—and their wants are becoming greater every day. In Jackson, Miss., Whiskey is worth Two Thousand dollars per barrel in confederate money. I enclose a Jackson paper of the 13th, inst. If you are familiar with the braggadocio style of southern papers generally, you will be able to detect considerable despondency in the various articles of this paper.

I send to-day about \$50,000 to U. S. Ass't. Treasurer at N. Y.—being total balance of duties collected by me up to Mr. Bullitt's arrival. A bill of lading will be forwarded to you with statement of ac. by next mail. Pardon the haste in which I am obliged to write.

P. S. Gen. Banks has just arrived from above.

(Private)

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 25th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Military operations near Port Hudson have ceased. Our army is all in Baton Rouge, except a few regiments sent down to Weitzel. Admiral Farragut is known to be all right, and it is supposed, has communicated with Porter at Vicksburg.

The center of interest is now Gen. Weitzel's command. He recently fell back from the Bay to Bayou Boeuf, a

short distance nearer the City. Kirby Smith commands the Rebels on the other side of Berwick's Bay (on the Teche), and his entire force is believed to be 12,000 or 15,000. Weitzel is being largely reinforced for the purpose, probably, of making an offensive movement. Gen. Banks went down to him on Monday (day before yesterday) but has since returned to the City. The rebels contemplated a heavy attack on Weitzel, but he was too sharp for them. They have the "Queen of the West" and the "Webb" at "Bute la Rose" to assist them.

From New Iberia on Bayou Teche, to Plaquemine on the Mississippi, draw a straight line. "Bute la Rose" is a little north of the center of such line. It is a sort of lake formed by the widening of the Bayou. At this time all the numerous bayous in that part of Louisiana, are navigable. The Queen of the West and the Webb came down one of the bayous from Red River.

If Weitzel takes the Teche country, it will be almost the same as taking Port Hudson, for during the high waters, boats can go up the Atchafalaya into Red River and thence to Vicksburg, in the same manner as up the River.

Gen. Banks says he accomplished all he intended at Port Hudson, yet the movement is generally regarded as a failure. I prefer to think it undertaken for the purpose of carrying out Weitzel's expedition, which was postponed until our fleet could command the River above Port Hudson. Now, Kirby Smith cannot retreat to the East side of the River, nor can reinforcements be sent him from Port Hudson—therefore if Weitzel is successful, it will be a great success.

The Queen of the West and the Webb were at "Bute la Rose" one week ago to-day. It is not known whether they are still there. The rebels have many river steamers at New Iberia, but all unarmed, intended only for transportation.

Enclosed is a very good map of Port Hudson and its fortifications. The estimates of the number of men there, vary from 8,000 to 25,000—probably nearer the former than the latter number. Some officers in the expedition think Banks could have taken the place, had he made a serious attempt.

Your letter of the third of March was received this morning and I thank you for it.

Mr. Bullitt does not disapprove of limited trade with the enemy and argues much in favor of the policy. If you do not wish him to permit it (he has not yet) I suggest the propriety of your telling him so, without, however, informing him the above information or suggestion comes from me.

Gen. Banks is doing the best he can, but I look for no great success. His troops are raw—his means limited—he has thought best not to avail himself of colored troops—and he is not Gen. Butler. Confidence is a great thing. Gen. Butler inspired everybody with it—Gen. Banks none, or few.

Private.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 29th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: My last letter gave all the important facts concerning operations near Port Hudson, and stated that the next movement was to be up Bayou Teche under Weitzel, which was contemplated some weeks ago, but temporarily relinquished. I suppose the advancing column will be not far from Ten Thousand men, and if successful, will penetrate to Red River, by way of the Teche or Atchafalaya. Troops are now being sent to Weitzel and it is supposed he will start in about ten days. Kirby Smith is the Rebel General opposed to him, and was said to have 14,000 men, but is now reported to have only six Thousand. Under the present military authorities of this Dept. I have doubts about the success of the undertaking—but if Butler was here I should have none.

In my letters to you written soon after Gen. Banks assumed command, I stated that Banks had already virtually failed. I now regard this failure as complete and impossible to be retrieved by the present Commanding General.

Since Gen. Banks arrived this is what has been accomplished, viz:

With an army three times as large as Gen. Butler's, we hold the same amount of territory held by him.

We have lost the steam sloop of war "Mississippi," the

Gunboat "Kinsman" (iron clad), the "Hatteras" and the "Harriet Lane." Also, Galveston.

Butler left New Orleans really and truly a Union City. Day by day have appearances of loyalty diminished. It is now a secession city, and matters are growing worse.

But slavery has been re-established, and slave labor restored, and local police regulations regarding slaves, enforced and executed by New England bayonets with all becoming severity.

Time has been wasted, lives lost, money spent, and the well wishers of the Government discouraged and disheartened. But the large slave owners are partially satisfied and unrelenting secessionists make no complaints.

Can Gen. Banks retrieve the position? Possibly in military operations, but I don't believe so. Certainly he never will and never can, in social, political and other respects.

For all this I honestly and firmly believe Mr. Wm. H. Seward is responsible, and he can proudly point to the above results as the effect of his favorite (or Favorite's) policy—as accomplished by a "*Gentleman*" without opinions, who is "neither a pro-slavery nor anti-slavery man"—with whom "success is a duty"—and who is intended to be the next President. This policy of conciliation with all its attendant evils, is the most abominable ever adopted by a selfish political intriguer.

Is it absolutely necessary that a favorite of Mr. Seward should be the next President? Without doubt Mr. Seward thinks so.

At this important point we want a commanding General of the greatest energy, judgment, ability and earnestness—one who has opinions—is not afraid of responsibilities and who is not in constant fear of injuring his political prospects. Gen. Benj. F. Butler is the man and the only one. In two weeks he could restore everything, but I do not suppose he will be sent here, for he is too earnest a man to suit Mr. Seward, and if placed in a high position, he might possibly become dangerous as candidate for the Presidency.

I believe there is a great deal more corruption here now than ever under Butler, and certainly there is more interference with, and annoyance to civil officers and business

men, in one week now than there was during the whole time Gen. Butler was here. It is all interference but no action. As an illustration of this, I refer you to the following orders.

SPECIAL ORDERS } HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
No. 82. } 19TH ARMY CORPS,
New Orleans, March 27, 1863.

[Extract.]

* * * * *

11. Paragraph 14 of Special Orders No. 80, current series, is amended so as to require that the Hospital Tax of five dollars per bale on cotton shall be collected on all cotton brought to New Orleans.

By command of Major General Banks,

RICHARD B. IRWIN, *A. A. General.*

SPECIAL ORDERS } HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
No. 82. } 19TH ARMY CORPS,
New Orleans, March 27, 1863.

[Extract]

* * * * *

14. Any failure to neglect to pay the hospital taxes on cotton, sugar and molasses or the license fee on vessels, will subject the property or vessel to seizure and confiscation.

By order of Major General Banks,

RICHARD B. IRWIN, *A. A. General.*

SPECIAL ORDERS } HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
No. 82. } 19TH ARMY CORPS,
New Orleans, March 27, 1863.

[Extract.]

* * * * *

13. A license fee of one dollar per ton per month shall be collected by the Quartermaster's Department on all vessels engaged in local trade in the Department of the Gulf, the proceeds to be applied for the benefit of the general hospitals.

By command of Major General Banks,

RICHARD B. IRWIN, *A. A. General.*

SPECIAL ORDERS } HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
 No. 82. } 19TH ARMY CORPS,
 New Orleans, March 27, 1863.

[Extract]

* * * * * * *

12. A tax of one dollar per hogshead on all Sugar, and twenty-five cents per barrel on all Molasses, to be collected by the Quartermaster's Department, is levied upon all Sugar and Molasses brought to the city of New Orleans, the proceeds of this tax to be applied for the benefit of the general hospitals.

By command of Major General Banks,

RICHARD B. IRWIN, *A. A. General.*

I also call your attention to the form of bond enclosed herewith marked A.

Under this arrangement all steamboats and vessels engaged in local trade, have been seized—or nearly all of them. The clause about illicit trade is of no account, and only an excuse. No distinction is made (so far as I can learn) between vessels which have been suspected and those which are above suspicion.

Mr. Plunly has been here three or four days. I have seen a good deal of him and like him. I am told that Dr. Zachary went to Washington to get authority to trade with the enemy. That man did much harm here, and if he is sent back, will do a great deal more.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 31st, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: This letter is a continuation of my last, concerning trade with the enemy, and, a supply of cotton.

Much of the cotton brought here is allowed to leave the Rebel States, on condition that it be exported to Foreign countries. Generally this condition is secretly evaded, the cotton going first to Havanna and thence to New York. Foreign subjects resident here are most successful in obtaining cotton by permission of the Rebel Authorities.

It has been confidently stated to me that you have consented to a plan of exchange of supplies for Cotton in large quantities, and that the arrangement was perfected on the 19th. of February. If such has been your decision you will

see the results (as to the amount of Cotton to be received in this Department) by the following statement.

In the Southwestern States the amount of Cotton was very large—equal to the full crop of one year.

In Confederate currency it is worth from 15 to 30 cents per pound—according to locality and convenience of shipment—generally say 25 cents.

In the same currency, and in the States near here, the following prices prevail. Flour \$100 per barrel. Beef or Pork \$80. Bacon 60 to 75 cents per pound. Salt from \$30. to \$100 per sack according to locality. Calico \$2 per yard. Whiskey, from one Thousand to Two Thousand Dollars per barrel. Claret \$60. per case (worth \$5 here.) Cloth worth one dollar here, is worth \$8. or \$10.

For every dollar's worth of supplies sent out, from \$12 to \$20 worth of cotton would be received, reckoning by Federal currency.

The Rebel government has long been willing to consent to this arrangement. Gen. Magruder (in Texas) has recently issued an order permitting the export of cotton to Matamoras in any amount, on condition that \$100 worth of goods be brought back for each bale exported, alleging, as a reason, the impossibility of supporting his troops without such permission for exporting.

Any amount of cotton could have been obtained here by such exchange. I have always thought, and still think, such trade inexpedient for many reasons, and of much greater benefit to the Rebels than to the Government. If it be true, however, that you have adopted a new policy, I should be glad to assist in its execution, and still remaining in my present position, could accomplish it much better than any other person here or to be sent here, on account of my experience and information acquired during the past year.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *March 31, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: This letter is a sketch of the policy of the commanding generals of this Department, concerning slaves; of changes of policy and their effect on slavery; and of the present condition of the institution.

On the first occupation of the city, and for some time afterward, the policy (as then understood to be the policy of the government) was adopted of non-interference with slavery, of leaving it entirely to the local laws, and even of returning sometime to their owners, slaves who took refuge in the camps.

This policy changed as the commanding general became more familiar with the institution, with its effect upon the character and morals of the people, and with its vast importance as the real chief cause of the rebellion; and as he began to see that this is not an armed rebellion, but a great social and political revolution; that, sooner or later, the character and habits of the whole people must be reformed by assimilating the two antagonistic forms of labor and society, and by organizing free, compensated and honest labor. I heard Gen. Butler say, "These people act like savages, and slavery has made them so. For generations they have sucked in barbarism with the milk of African nurses."

During the summer the policy first indicated changed still more. Finally, refugee negroes were not returned to loyal or disloyal persons, and the "black code" of Louisiana became virtually a nullity.

In this city a free colored regiment had been held in rebel service under Gov. Moore, and had been highly complimented in his general orders. Gen. Butler, very shrewdly and skillfully taking advantage of this precedent, not only reorganized the regiment in the U. S. service, but enlisted two other colored regiments mostly from men lately slaves, whom he had pronounced free by laws of war.

Many sugar plantations were deserted by the negroes. The standing crops were bought by enterprising parties, who hired negroes at fair compensation, gathered the cane and made the crop. Every such undertaking was successful. Many plantations were managed in a similar manner on account of the government.

When the Lafourche district was captured, the general regarded the slaves captured as all free, and ordered that they should receive \$10 per month pay from any employer.

At the time Gen. Butler gave up the command labor was in a very confused and unsatisfactory state. Considerable

time is required to change slave to free labor and bring order out of chaos. All classes here seemed satisfied that slavery here was gone forever. And even the slave holders with resignation and regret, accepted the new condition of things, and probably would have soon adapted themselves to it.

When Gen. Banks took command, it was known his policy would be conciliatory, and it was soon perceived that it would not be anti-slavery.

The hopes of slaveholders at once sprung into new and vigorous life. Great pressure was brought to bear upon Gen. Banks to reorganize labor on the old basis; and he settled on a plan which has since been effected—the printed form of which I sent to you previous to its being made public. This plan is substantially as follows.

Negroes are not to be enticed from plantations. Those already in camp are advised to return, and those who do not return are put to severe labor. When once returned to the plantations, they must remain for one year, and if they leave, are made to go back by military authority. Government on the plantations is to be in conformity with local laws, and the same as has been customary heretofore.

The planter must distribute among his negroes one twentieth of the net profits of the estates, or a very small monthly stipend. In all other respects the relation of master and slave for the time being, is the same as heretofore.

The planters were promised that all negroes enlisted in U. S. army, desiring to return to their plantations on the above conditions, should be allowed to do so. No one, however, has availed himself of the privilege.

The above plan was by no means entirely satisfactory to the planters who wanted the negroes forcibly returned to the plantations in the first place—but most, if not all of them, have acceded to it, and signed the agreement. It must not be forgotten that the negro need not return to his former plantation, but may choose such as he pleases.

The results of the plan are most beneficial in this respect, that labor is at once restored, and the industrial interests of the country immediately reestablished, and there is a fair prospect of a good crop. A few plantations, as for instance

that of Mr. May, are conducted with free labor, and both whites and blacks employed.

The Federal authority enforces the policy of Gen. Banks with the utmost vigor towards the blacks.

Slavery, abolished by Gen. Butler, I regard as completely re-established. Whether it would have been better for all classes, for the interest of government and the race, to have adopted the slower process of organizing free labor, I leave undetermined, without, however, having any doubt of its feasibility.

The planters, former slave holders, and born and bred to regard and treat their slaves simply as property, and whose whole idea of labor is that it must be compulsory, can rarely succeed in hiring their own negroes, or managing them when free. The negro has no confidence in them, and constantly fears a renewal of his bonds. But for a "Yankee" they will work well and for small pay—or for any one in whom they have confidence, and who has no shadow of legal claim on their liberty. When southern slaveholders say a free negro will not work, the statement is partially true. He will not work *for them*; but for himself, for "Yankees", for "poor white trash", and for anti-slavery men of all kinds, he will work well and faithfully. Such men alone can establish free labor, and reorganize Southern industry.

Of colored troops there are now in this Department, four full regiments, and two companies of (seige) artillery. They compare favorably with any troops in the service, and are rapidly gaining the respect of the rest of the army. The 1st., 3rd. and 4th. regiments "Native Guards", are at Baton Rouge; the 2nd. at Ship Island.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *April 13th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: In many of my letters I have criticized Gen. Banks and his policy severely and unfavorably. Of necessity, my opinions have been based somewhat on the opinions of others. I have never been intimate with him, or enjoyed his confidence, and hence perhaps have done him injustice, in not being able rightly to interpret his views and policy.

Probably you had better accept Mr. Plumly's estimate and opinion of Gen. Banks and his policy—rather than my

own, for Mr. Plumly is on terms of intimacy with the General and is far better able to judge of the probability of the General's success, than I am.

Mr. Plumly will be very useful here and I hope you will cause him to remain. He possesses one great advantage, of which I am destitute—a familiarity with the character of public men—their history, motives and objects. The General seems to have great confidence in him and does not seem to exercise in his intercourse with him, the same reserve as with others.

Gen. Banks has crossed Bewick's [sic] Bay with a large force (probably not less than 20,000) and is now advancing up the Teche Bayou. I cannot tell whether there will be a fight, for our force is so strong that the enemy may think best to retreat.

I made a visit a few days ago to the plantation of Mr. May, forty miles above here on the River. Mr. M. is an enterprising young planter who adopted a thorough free labor system last year, and his success is all that could be wished. He has 130 men at work, one third of them white, and pays the same wages to white and black. He has planted 1200 acres of sugar, cotton and corn, and I have never seen a plantation better conducted, or laborers more industrious and contented. The neighboring planters feel much hostility to him for successfully introducing free labor (white and black) in opposition to all their life long prejudices. This is but another illustration of the feasibility of free labor, and proves that the only obstacle in the organization of such labor, is the prejudice against free negroes, which always exists among slave-holders.

About two hundred men of the 2nd. Reg't. native guards, landed (from Ship Island) at Pascagoula near Mobile and had a sharp fight in which they showed much courage and repulsed the enemy. It produced much excitement and exultation among colored people in the city, who had got to believe that if they enlisted they would not be allowed to take the field.

I have nothing further of sufficient consequence to communicate. It is known here Gen. Butler is not to return, and now that Gen. Banks knows himself to be permanently in command, perhaps he will be thorough.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 25th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I am glad to be able to inform you that Gen. Banks has accomplished a great success. From the commencement of the advance from Berwick's [sic] Bay, he has whipped the enemy wherever they could be found, has captured a large proportion of their army and dispersed the rest—has destroyed the "Queen of the West," the Gunboat "Diana" (recently captured from us) and the "Hart". All these were armed, seven or eight of the enemy's transports also have been captured or destroyed. I cannot tell you the exact number of his prisoners but it is large. In a late telegram he says that "the army and navy of the enemy are annihilated." All this has been accomplished with small loss on our side. By this time Gen. Banks is on Red River, and probably has captured Alexandria. I know nothing of the whole plan of the expedition or of its ultimate object, but suppose there is to be cooperation with the army at Vicksburg. In all Louisiana and Texas I do not believe the Rebels can now raise troops enough to whip Banks.

I am glad Mr. Flanders has returned. He is regarded by the Union Clubs and Union men, as their leader, and his presence inspires confidence. In part owing to this fact, and in greater part to Banks' successes, the Union sentiment of the City has improved and increased wonderfully within a few days.

Now that Gen. Banks knows he is here permanently, I hope and think he will show necessary vigor, determination and severity.

I have sent to you (officially) by this mail, Mr. Cisco's Certificates of Deposits amounting to \$198,024.04. They ought to have been sent on as soon as received. All the money I collected for duties, is now in his hands.

The proper management of internal trade is very important. Under the regulations of March 31st. as under those of August 28th, the Special Agent exercising the authority can exert a great influence. He is brought in contact with persons of every class from every locality. If he conducts himself and his business properly he can do much toward restoring loyalty—and can also do much to advance the political interests of whomsoever he pleases.

I do not think the business of permits and internal trade is well managed now, for Bullitt is not a smart man. I believe this business (Internal trade, permits for supplies within our lines, and the whole execution of the new Regulations) should be in the hands of a shrewd man who will be your friend through thick and thin. Mr. Bullitt's position as Collector of Customs need not be interfered with, and it is of not half the importance as the other business. I do not know whether you have sent or will send any one from Washington. Two gentlemen are here, either of whom is a proper person for the position—Mr. Flanders and Mr. Plumly, who are both your firm friends. I shall ask each of them to write you by next mail, and their letters will assist you in coming to a conclusion.

Mr. Higgins, the Assessor, arrived a week ago and we are getting fairly to work. My bond is rather large and I have not yet completed it, but shall succeed in executing it before long.

NEW ORLEANS, LA., *April 30th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Enclosed are five important orders^a issued this morning. Considerable excitement prevails in regard to some of them, and they give great and general satisfaction to all loyal persons. Gen. Banks is taking hold in earnest and in civil as well as strictly military matters, displays surprising and unexpected vigor. I hear that some vigorous measures will be adopted and enforced in a day or two concerning offences other than those mentioned in the order of to-day.

The Union sentiment has increased and improved wonderfully in the last two weeks. Many of Gen. Banks prisoners are taking the oath of allegiance. The planters are organizing themselves into Union associations "for the preservation of the Union and the support of the Government." All this in great measure, is owing to the recent change from a conciliatory to a decisive policy.

The planters have selected and are about to send to Wash-

^aCf. General Orders, No. 35, April 27, and General Orders, No. 37, April 29. *Rebellion Records, Series I, Vol. XV, p. 710.*

ington, a delegation from their own number, for the purpose, as I understand it, of securing their interests for the future by pledge of the Government, and to ascertain what their status is and is to be. I believe Dr. Cottman is of the number and he leaves on to-morrow's steamer. You are acquainted with him, I think, but he asked me for a letter to you which he will perhaps deliver.

Dr. Cottman is a man of much influence in Louisiana and is my friend. He is pro-slavery and always will be, and is devoted to Mr. Lincoln. You will have to take his statements and conversation with some grains of allowance, for he has the habit of stating things in a very exaggerated way. He knows more men and more about Louisiana than almost any other man and believes or pretends to believe that the State will be utterly ruined without Slave labor. He is a kind and good man, and with all his peculiarities and prejudices, is much respected.

I think Mr. Bullitt has written to you, that the employés of the Custom House, whom he has discharged, were dismissed at my recommendation. If he has so written, it is not true, I never recommended to him the dismissal of but two men—one for taking bribe, the other for disloyalty) and all others dismissed by him, have been so dismissed without any recommendation, interference or previous knowledge on my part. Mr. Bullitt sometimes has a loose way of stating things.

I have nothing or but little to do with anything in the Custom House, except the Surveyor's department, which I keep all right, of course. The Collector does not ask my advice and I cannot thrust it upon him.

I again call your attention to what was said in my last letter concerning permits and Internal trade and how it should be organized.

Mr. Plumly says he has already written to you on this subject, and Mr. Flanders is writing to-day. Gen. Banks returned to the City three days ago, and went back to the army yesterday. I suppose he will take Alexandria at once, but what his subsequent movements are to be, I cannot tell.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 9th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: We are getting along very well in the office of Internal Revenue. My official Bond will be transmitted next week. The selection of Mr. Higgins as Assessor is a good one, and he is quite popular here, besides being unexceptionable as to politics. His selections of assistant assessors are excellent.

In a recent letter, I suggested to you the propriety of taking from Mr. Bullitt the internal trade business, and putting it in the hands of a competent person. I now repeat the suggestion emphatically. The fact is I have tried to like Mr. Bullitt, because you sent him here, and to assist him so that the Custom House might be managed creditably. In both those desires I have utterly failed. I know he is a fool and am almost equally sure he is a bad man. He is false in all things and venal in all things, and I cannot help regarding a man whose word cannot be trusted, as past all hope. Probably he or any other man has a right to make money (if that is his ambition) honorably, honestly and without using or compromising his official position, but Bullitt proclaims his object to be money making in his office or on the street—without shame or sense of propriety.

But he can do no harm, the internal business (Regulations of March 31) being placed in other hands. If you are not ready to send some one from Washington, appoint temporarily, some one already here, and the sooner it is done, the better.

I hope, too, you will have some one here to carry out the law concerning "Abandoned and captured property." The Quartermaster is shipping cotton seized by Gov't., to New York for sale, and I cannot collect the excise tax. They refuse to pay and of course, I cannot help myself. On inquiry at the Quartermaster's office, I was informed that Gen. Banks had temporarily appointed Col. Chandler to act under that law, until the Special Ag't. appointed by you, should arrive. I hope you will see that Gen. Banks shall not make appointments for you. This proceeding throws everything into confusion and will give rise, I fear, to legal questions to be raised by the claimants of the property. I should say that this business and the internal trade might be done by one person, if a good business man, and

hope you will keep Mr. Plumly here, and give Mr. Flanders the best office at your command. Gen. Banks has seized eight or ten thousand bales cotton, and about same number hogsheads sugar, on which I shall be unable to collect the tax (which should be paid here, of course) unless some one authorized by you is here to receive it from the Quartermaster.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 2, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Military operations are being conducted with vigor and great success. Gen. Banks is probably in Alexandria (on Red River) this morning. About one half of the prisoners captured by him, have taken the oath of allegiance. There is now no formidable body of rebels in Louisiana except at Port Hudson. I think Port H. will be captured or evacuated in a short time.

Grant has captured Grand Gulf and is said to be advancing into the interior of Mississippi with a force of 35,000. You will see full accounts of the arrival of the Illinois cavalry at Baton Rouge. They threw the whole State of Mississippi into a fever of alarm and did the rebels more damage than they can repair in six months. The prospect of opening the River never seemed brighter than to-day, and when that is done the Rebellion is virtually finished. The destitution in Secession is becoming worse and worse, and Col. Grierson (in command of the Illinois cavalry) informs me that the prospect for crops is very poor throughout Mississippi. But little land is planted, because the white laborers are in the army—many of the negroes are working on the fortifications—and what negroes are left at home, are dissatisfied, demoralized and idle.

The remainder of the planters composing the *Delegation* to Washington, will leave next week. They are all men of wealth and influence but I hope will not succeed in, at least, some of the objects of their mission. I understand that they go to seek three things,

1st. The withdrawal of the President's proclamation^a in regard to the whole of Louisiana.

^aThe Emancipation Proclamation.

2nd. The appointment of a commission to estimate, and recompense the planters for, losses sustained by them.

3rd. The non-enforcement of the Excise Tax in regard to sugar, up to the present date.^a

They may have other objects also and I may be misinformed as to the three particulars above-mentioned, but am probably correct.

The whole matter can easily be disposed of by leaving everything to Gen. Banks (except the 3rd. item), who will probably give them very little satisfaction.

Gen. Banks begins to show severity. Mr. Plumly thinks he is more severe by nature than Butler, but I think he has adopted Butler's policy because he sees, at last, that it is the only proper one.

Enclosed are late orders issued by the General, and also a copy of the "Opelousas Courier", the appearance of which would indicate that the rebels are literally "driven to the wall."

NEW ORLEANS, *May 9th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I failed to inform you in my other letter of to-day, of the course pursued by Gen. Banks in regard to produce in the country recently occupied by him.

By an order (unpublished) of the General, the Quarter Master seizes all cotton and all sugar found as the army advances. This cotton and sugar is brought to the City, and the sugar (as I am informed) is to be sold here, while the cotton will be shipped to New York for sale. Col. Chandler supervises the business. It is said that the loyal owners will be paid what their produce was worth before Banks occupied their country, but one of the principal Quartermasters informs me that Chandler is appointed by Banks to carry out the law concerning "abandoned and captured property," until the regular agent is appointed by you. One govt. steamship leaves to-morrow loaded with Quartermaster's cotton which has not paid excise tax, but, of course, its seizure by me is a physical impossibility.

^a See letter of June 13, 1863.

This cotton is consigned to the Quartermaster at N. Y. to be sold for the Gov't.

Mr. Gray tells me he shall offer you his resignation. Do not accept it. He has been faithful in the service of the Gov't. for 25 years, and is the most efficient Deputy Collector I have ever seen.

Dr. Kennedy, Editor of the New Orleans "True Delta," is going on to Washington, but I do not know with what object, unless it be to assist the planters. Dr. Kennedy is a brother-in-law of Bullitt's, and is a smart man. His "True Delta," was an anti-Jeff-Davis paper always, but never since the occupation of the city by the Gov't. troops, has it contained a single outspoken word in favor of the Union. I believe the planters intend to purchase a controlling interest in it, so that in future it may be the *pro-slavery Union* organ.

NEW ORLEANS, *May 24th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I write in haste as the Steamer is about leaving. A telegram has just been received at Headquarters from Baton Rouge. Banks with his whole army landed above Port Hudson and has joined forces with Augur who commanded at Baton Rouge. Port Hudson is completely invested and will be in our possession within 48 hours.

Grant has had a great battle utterly defeating the enemy and capturing 100 pieces artillery and large number of prisoners. He has surrounded and completely invested Vicksburg, which place will probably be speedily captured. The capture of these two places and consequent re-opening of the River, will render certain the successful termination of the war.

My Bond as Collector of Int. Revenue, is completed and Judge Peabody (as instructed) has transmitted it to-day. There are six sureties—the best men in Louisiana, and worth jointly more than half a million, though they qualify (jointly) for no more than 100,000. If there are any slight defects they must be overlooked. You have no idea of the great difficulties in giving bonds—the country being so disturbed and business and confidence prostrated. I have now

given bonds for \$175,000, which speaks well for my standing here. I cannot (and no one can) give a better bond than the one transmitted, and the circumstances considered, it will of course be accepted.

I gave a letter of introduction to Mr. Malhiot, one of the planters' delegation to Washington. All these men should be made friends, for, tho' pro-slavery in opinions, they could do harm, if enemies. When I say *friends*, I mean *your* friends, and you can make them so. The members of the delegation are Cottman, Malhiot, Bradish Johnson, and two or three others.

P. S. Please direct that the Bond be at once approved, as a speedy approval will be a relief to me and undoubtedly a satisfaction to the sureties.

G. S. D.

[Rec'd. 9.05 A. M. In Cipher.]

NEW YORK, *June 6th, 1863.*

Just arrived here by the "Morning Star." At the Belieze received the following telegram,

NEW ORLEANS, *May 29th,—2 P. M., 1863.*

To G. S. DENNISON, *Special Agent.*

Our losses at Port Hudson not as great as represented. Negroes reported by all parties to have fought well. Enemy yesterday tried to get through our left wing but were driven back with heavy loss. This morning heavy cannonading continually. All going well. Pickets of rebels who have deserted to our lines report provisions short at Port Hudson. Gen. Banks is well and in fine spirits and confident of entire success.

(Signed)

C. S. BULKLEY,
Supt. U. S. Mil. Telegraph.

I shall be in Washington to-morrow.

NEW YORK, *June 13th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I leave this afternoon on the S. S. "Morning Star."

A letter from New Orleans tells me that Mr. Bullitt, the next day after I left, discharged three of the best Union

men in the Custom House for no cause, but to make room for his friends, who are not generally distinguished for loyalty. This is wrong and the effect is very bad. I am glad Mr. Hutchins is going there. In this, as in other respects, your judgment is best.

A project has suggested itself to me this morning, in talking with many persons about raising troops, &c., and about McClellan. McClellan is very popular with some classes and it cannot be denied that he is much beloved by the soldiers who have served under him. The copperheads make a handle of him for their own purposes. Acquiring my opinions in the South, I used to admire him, but do not now.

I am told he could raise 50,000 men at once in New York, in a few days and twice that number in a few weeks, and that all the recently discharged soldiers would immediately re-enlist under him. What I propose for your consideration is as follows. That McClellan be ordered to make his headquarters in this City and raise an army to be *under his command*. It could be sent to the Shenandoah or to East Tennessee.

Thereby, I think a fine army would be speedily raised—of many old soldiers—and the copper heads would have their underpinning knocked from under them. I think the movement would be very popular.

Knowing all the objections, if there be any, to this project, and all the circumstances, you can instantly decide if the plan be worth considering. The same thing could be done for Fremont in St. Louis and Chicago, and perhaps for Butler in Massachusetts.

By the papers, I see that the Louisiana Planters are in Washington. If you decide in their favor concerning tax on sugar or Cistern Bottoms (and I suppose you will) a point can be made, by permitting it to appear that your decision is owing to their representations and a desire to promote their interests.

I shall write you at once from New Orleans. Pardon my present haste.

P. S. I think you had better defer your decision concerning salaries of officers of Internal Revenue in Louisiana. I

will consult with Mr. Higgins, the Assessor, and write at once to you all the facts, whereon you can base your decision.

It is of great importance that the time of collecting the tax on sugar, &c. be settled at once, so that our labor may not be thrown away. The accompanying letter recapitulates some of the facts.

Cottmann and Malhiot are the most important men in the Louisiana Delegation. I understand Zachary is working with Bullitt against Gray.

NEW YORK, *June 13th, 1863.*

SIR: To enable you to fix the date from which taxes should be assessed and collected under the Internal Revenue Law in Louisiana—I have heretofore verbally stated to you all the facts necessary to be known. Gentlemen from Louisiana now in Washington, are familiar with Sugar culture and the condition of the State. They will be able to present the subject to you fully, and in a reliable form.

To protect the Government in any case, I have collected (during the past few weeks) the tax from holders of sugar at the time of its shipment out of the State. I directed them to pay under protest, and some of these protests, transmitted by myself, have probably already reached Washington. I held that an *Exercise* law was a lien on the sugar, without any special clause to that effect, *although* the law says the tax shall be paid by the producer. Probably I hold \$60,000 collected in this way. If you decide that these collections paid under protest, be refunded, of course the matter is ended.

If you decide that the collection was properly made, it will probably be contested in a proper court. You can tell better than I can, whether it is worth while to have a law-suit about it.

The decision that "Cistern Bottoms" be assessed at two cents per pound, is, I think, wrong. "Cistern Bottoms" is a mixture of sugar and molasses, about 40 per cent being sugar. It is sold in New Orleans and used by refiners.

I think the matter can be properly settled only by amending the law, fixing the tax on "Cistern Bottoms" at one half of one cent per pound, or at any rate, not more than $\frac{1}{2}$ of one cent per pound—and in the mean time, no tax should be assessed. On this point however, I will make further inquiry, and write more fully.

These questions are of consequence and should be settled immediately. Doubt and delay injure commercial interests.

I have in New Orleans, about \$26,000 in legal tenders, received, in fees by me while Collector of Customs. Before closing my account (as Collector of Customs) this must be turned over to some one. Please authorize me to send it to Mr. Cisco by steamship—or, to pay it over to paymasters—or to pay it to Mr. Bullitt, who needs legal tenders to pay his employes. It is about enough to pay the expenses of the Custom House for two months.

I do not suppose you expect me to perform any of the duties of Ass't. Treasurer. A proper person can and will be found. He will wish to know of course, what the compensation is to be, and what the amount of the Bond. Please inform me.

Enclosed is a note to Mr. Harrington which you will read.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 26th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I arrived here last Sunday having been absent from New Orleans twenty-three days, and have since been hard at work. I found that there had been much trouble, which commenced as soon as I was fairly away, wherein I think Mr. Bullitt has acted very unwisely and wrong. Matters have quieted down and go on much more smoothly now. Mr. Hutchins is giving his whole attention to the duties assigned to him by you.

A question has arisen between Mr. Bullitt and myself concerning permits, which Mr. Hutchins explains to you, in his letter of to-day, which question I hope you will decide at once and inform Mr. B. and myself of your decision.

Mr. B. holds that permits for boats, vessels, &c., (the ordinary means of transportation here) should be issued by him alone.

I hold that such permits are a part of "Commercial Inter-course"—created by the Regulations and not necessary before—must necessarily be in the same hands as the permits for supplies carried by the boats—and that Mr. B. should attend only to regular Custom House business with which I do not wish to interfere. Mr. Hutchins has stated the case in detail and fairly.

The grand and final assault on Port Hudson is to be made to-morrow. Gen. Banks has 1400 volunteers for the storming party—and *the negroes*. Great confidence is felt that he will capture the place, but only a few know that to-morrow is to be the day. We have mined the enemy's works. Gen. Banks has about 15,000 men with him fit for duty. I have made arrangements to send you a dispatch from South West Pass at two o'clock to-morrow, with the latest up to that hour.

Gen. Magruder with considerable force recaptured Brasher City and partially reoccupied the Lafourche Country. His numbers are stated at 4,000—and sometimes as high as 18,000. Much alarm has been and is still felt as to the safety of the city, but it is needless. I don't mean that the military authorities are alarmed, but the citizens—who are easily frightened. Our forces have retreated to Algiers—Magruder was supposed to be advancing on N. Orleans, but to-night I hear he has retreated back to Berwick's Bay. I regard the whole thing as simply an attempt to relieve Port Hudson by threatening the City and frightening Gen. Banks to come from Port Hudson to defend N. O. But New Orleans is not in danger of capture and Gen. Banks knows it. We have men and ships enough here to take care of ourselves. Magruder's Texans must have done, however, a great deal of damage to plantations and the poor negroes, of whom they will carry off probably a large number.

If Gen. B. should fail to-morrow I suppose he will at once raise the siege.

Up to date, our whole loss at Port Hudson—killed, wounded and missing—is 1900.

I hope to receive from you by next steamer the important instructions concerning Internal Revenue in Louisiana, and the date from which the tax is to be enforced. I shall

write more fully concerning the Custom House troubles if necessary, but Mr. Hutchins is attending to them, and it is better all statements should come from him. I am perfectly satisfied however, that Mr. Bullitt will have to be relieved that it will be necessitated by *political* reasons even if he was otherwise unexceptionable.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 10th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: The garrison of Port Hudson surrendered unconditionally yesterday morning. We have fifty pieces of cannon and nearly 5,000 prisoners.

On the west bank of the River, both above and below Donaldsonville, the Rebels, mostly Texans, have been very troublesome. They have erected two or three batteries behind the Levee and fire into all passing boats. At the present low stage of the water, Gunboats cannot operate effectually against them. Their numbers are not known to me. Gen. Weitzel with 12,000 men has already crossed the River at Port Hudson, and is moving on their rear with the hope of capturing the entire force. In a very few days now, the Rebels will be driven out of the Lafourche.

I told you of Mr. Plumly's influence among the colored people, and during the past few days he has used it with wonderful success. Under a call from Gov. Shepley, four regiments are being raised for sixty days service. Mr. Plumly obtained permission to raise a portion of the force from the colored men. One full regiment was formed and mustered in, four or five days ago. Another full regiment has been mustered in to-day, and by Saturday of next week, Plumly expects to have the third and fourth regiments ready. Of white regiments but a few companies are formed. Mr. Plumly's son is colonel of the 2nd. colored regiment. Gen. Ullman is not so successful as was anticipated, for the reason that he is not the right kind of man for the position. His brigade, however, is full, I understand.

We heard of the fall of Vicksburg on the 8th,—one day before Port Hudson surrendered.

Mr. Hutchins will probably leave here for New York by

the steamer to sail next Wednesday (the fifteenth). I have much to write concerning affairs in the Custom House, but prefer to send by him. There has been much trouble and it does not diminish. I think it all arises from Mr. Bullitt's desire to make the whole organization of the Custom House in sympathy with his political views, which agree with the principles of the "True Delta." I think Mr. Bullitt is not only incompetent but a very bad man. Letters which Mr. Hutchins will take, will give you more fully my opinions on this subject.

Enclosed is Gen. Shepley's order calling out troops for City defense. They are not absolutely necessary now, but will be useful.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 15th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Hutchins will not leave by the "Creole," as was expected, but will probably go on the "Morning Star" in about ten days.

The Rebel force in the Lafourche and on the Teche is still there. Movements are in progress to cut them off and capture them—or drive them back into Texas, and the matter will be decided in four or five days.

Gen. Banks is expected in the City to-morrow. Mr. Flanders has done but little, as he has been waiting to see the General and have him issue the necessary orders, and it has not been proper or necessary to intrude such matters on his attention while engaged in his great work at Port Hudson.

For the same reason, Mr. Plumly has not seen Gen. Banks since my return, but he will see him and ascertain whatever it may be desirable to know.

Mr. Plumly is devoted to your interest—is a man of perfect honor and cannot betray. Of this I am fully satisfied. And yet he holds this relation to you, at the same time laboring under a conviction that he has been misrepresented to you, and that your confidence in him is impaired. I have ascertained this little by little, and of course, not by direct questioning. For the interests of the colored people he labors unceasingly and unselfishly. He has great and

increasing influence. He is enthusiastic and some would say, sometimes visionary, but supplies qualities possessed neither by Mr. Flanders nor myself—qualities more useful in the excitable South than in the North. The feeling that he deserves, but fails to possess your full confidence, seems to him a misfortune if not an injustice, but does not seem to cause his personal loyalty to waver.

The foregoing statement is the result of close and continual observation of which he was not aware. Should my opinion change in the least (which I do not anticipate) you will be informed at once.

I suggest the propriety and expediency of your writing him a private letter such as will remove (in part at least) the impression under which he labors. At any rate it will be a kind action and I believe, worth while.

No State government will be organized for a long time, and I am glad of it, for the time has not yet come for surely succeeding in the plan of universal suffrage essential to our permanent success. The chances will improve day by day, and delay is an advantage—but of final success I have little doubt. Men who fight well have to vote, and Gen. Banks will immediately organize all the negroes he can get. Gen. Andrews will command the “Corps d’Afrique”—a more proper man than Ullmann who will command a Brigade.

A strong party is already forming here, whose leading idea is the restoration of Louisiana to slavery *and* to the Union, of which party Kennedy, of the “True Delta”, is an active and enterprising leader and advocate. The fact that Gen. Emory, (commanding here in Banks’ absence) is a bitter pro-slavery man, gives to this party a great but temporary advantage. With these, Mr. Bullitt, who is entirely under Kennedy’s control, seems to be in perfect sympathy. Emory, Kennedy and Bullitt are much together—generally at Bullitt’s house. We already have too many pro-slavery Generals here, and the papers say Gen. Franklin is coming, who is supposed to be of the same stripe.

I have talked with many officers of the old regiments here, and there seems to be much dissatisfaction in the army. No matter what the papers say, Gen. Banks is unpopular in his

army. There may be an improved state of feeling since Port Hudson fell, but that cannot make a very great difference. The reason for this dissatisfaction is this. The whole army, from colonels down, is thoroughly abolitionized. They have seen the negroes drill and fight, and they want to give them a chance and put down slavery. I have not seen a soldier who has not this feeling. But Grover, Emory, Sherman (somewhat) and others, have been ostentatiously pro-slavery all along. (I do not include Weitzel, the best and most popular General here). The army think these men control Banks and his policy, which up to a certain point, was conciliatory. Besides this they (the army) have acquired a very poor opinion of Banks' ability as a military officer, but this may have changed somewhat since the fall of Port Hudson.

You remember that Gen. Banks changed his mild policy all of a sudden, and issued several severe orders in one day. It may be a significant fact that just previous to that time, Mr. Seward's son (who was or is an Asst. secretary, I think) made a flying visit here, went to the front to see Banks, and after staying here four or five days went back to New York. Gen. Banks can recover (in part at least) the army's confidence, and remove dissatisfaction, by adopting a decided and severe policy, which I hope and think he will do. Anti-slavery feeling continues to develop and grow steadily. Mr. Flanders is the very best man you could get for the position occupied by him. I want Mr. Hutchins to come back here in official position, and will gladly give up to him my place as Coll. of Internal Revenue, if that will induce him, for I believe he would be of great use here politically.

Everything I have to write about Custom House matters, will be sent by the hands of Mr. Hutchins.

There is great rejoicing here over the fall of Vicksburg, Port Hudson, over Rosecrans' success, and the defeat of the Rebels at Gettysburg. I am sorry to say that no official answer is yet received to the questions regarding "Int. Revenue Tax," which I laid before you in Washington. We can do nothing but wait, until the date from which the tax is to be assessed is determined.

Gen. Banks' private secretary informs me that Port Hud-

son would have been evacuated, if the investment had been delayed a few hours. The Rebel Commander had the order to evacuate from Johnston, in his pocket, and had commenced its execution when Banks appeared. This fact was not known until after the surrender. Johnston wanted the Port Hudson Garrison to join him back of Vicksburg.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 24th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Hutchins goes to-morrow on the "Morning Star". He has thoroughly informed himself concerning Custom House and all other matters here, and he can lay these matters before you so clearly that there is no necessity of my saying anything about them, as I had intended. I have a good deal to do now, being entirely occupied in the Permit office and in assisting Mr. Flanders in organizing the great work in his hands. I want to give up the Collectorship of Internal Revenue, because I do not like the place—its duties are not suited to my taste, and I can be more useful elsewhere. Mr. Flanders will require my whole time and energy in the Permit Office. I want you to make Mr. Hutchins Collector of Int. Revenue, in my place, if you approve the suggestion. He will be of great use here, politically and otherwise, and the Treasury Department needs a greater number of able men here. Mr. Flanders, Mr. Plumly and myself think Mr. H. just the man for the position, and, while I am willing to be in any position where you think me most useful to yourself, I do hope you will take me out of the Int. Revenue Office, and let me manage the Permit Agency and Surveyor's Office, where I shall be much more useful than here. I enclose my resignation, subject to your approval, so that, if you should appoint Mr. Hutchins in conformity with this request, you will be entirely unincumbered by me. If, however, you should not adopt my suggestions, nor grant my request, you can tear up the resignation and that will end it.

Gen. Banks has taken hold of the enlistment of negroes with vigor and earnestness. Mr. Plumly is raising a Brigade, works hard and succeeds. The Rebels are cleared out

of the Lafourche, and a considerable force from Grant's army is moving down the Bayou Teche from Red River.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 24th, 1863.*

SIR: I hereby respectfully tender my resignation as Collector of Internal Revenue for the State of Louisiana.

MEMPHIS, *Aug. 6th, 1863.*

SIR: At the request of Mr. Flanders, Supervising Sp. Agent, etc., I have come here to have an interview with Mr. Mellen, for the purpose of designating the respective jurisdictions of Mr. Flanders and Mr. Mellen—of harmonizing their action—of exchanging views and opinions and of receiving and giving whatever information might be of value to either party. Mr. Flanders was too busy to leave New Orleans. Mr. Mellen is not here, and not being certain of finding him at St. Louis or Cincinnati, I shall return at once to New Orleans.

Mr. Flanders' letter of appointment makes him Supervising Sp. Agent for the "States of Texas, Louisiana and Mississippi, within the lines occupied by the National forces operating in or from the Dept. of the Gulf; or after the Mississippi River shall have been fully opened from any other Department."

Mr. Flanders, under the circumstances, supposes his authority to extend entirely and exclusively, over the three States above-mentioned. I understand Mr. Mellen has sent an officer to Vicksburg. Mr. Flanders will send a proper officer to Natchez. I respectfully request that you define the jurisdiction of each of the Supervising Sp. Agents, that Mr. Flanders may know how far his authority extends and act accordingly.

The Collector at St. Louis, by advertisement, gives notice that he will exact the 5 per cent. tax on shipments made direct to New Orleans.

Shipments are made *by sea* to New Orleans from New York and other Ports, unrestricted by any such tax. The

exaction of this tax on goods *going down the River* to the same destination, is a distinction of 5 per cent. in favor of Eastern and against Western Ports. This seems to me unjust--its effect will be bad and much dissatisfaction arise.

I think the Collector at St. Louis and collectors at other western ports, should receive immediate instructions, not to assess any tax on shipments made direct from their ports to the Port of New Orleans.

I have received much information from Mr. Yeatman, Sp. Agent at this Port, with whom I leave a copy of this letter to be forwarded to Mr. Mellen.

NEW ORLEANS, *August 12th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I returned two days ago from Memphis. My journey was partially unsuccessful, because Mr. Mellen was absent, but I had interviews with Gen. Grant, and other Generals commanding Posts, and acquired considerable information from Mr. Yeatman.

The people all along the River, and throughout Western Mississippi, are abjectly submissive. I never supposed a people who had boasted so much, could be so thoroughly subjugated. The organization of negro troops is progressing tolerably well both here and in Gen. Grant's Department, but in Grant's army I perceive a prejudice against negro troops which does not exist here. I don't mean to say that it is general, but it is noticeable, although every one spoke highly of the fighting qualities of the negro troops as displayed at Milliken's Bend and other places. The great trouble in organizing negro troops anywhere along or near the River, is that the "prime hands" have all been removed to Texas, or Eastwardly into Alabama. We shall get at them before long however.

Mr. Plumly has gone to Natchez and will return in two or three days. I think I told you that one of his sons is colonel in a negro regiment here. His other son commanded a battery in Ellett's Marine Brigade, but Mr. Plumly has caused him to be transferred to this Department, and he is now raising a colored battery. Both these young men are fine officers.

A great expedition against Mobile is in preparation. I do not know how many men will be used, nor in what manner nor at what time the attack will be made, but a portion at least of Grant's Army will go, and I think the expedition will start very soon—say in three or four weeks. After the capture of Mobile, I understand the long-deferred Texas expedition will start, and will advance from here probably by way of Red River.

Mr. Plumly has had a full conversation with Gen. Banks concerning political matters. I have seen him but once since the conversation and then for a few minutes only and therefore I cannot now give you a full report of the conversation. I only can say that Gen. Banks states positively that he has no alliance with Mr. Seward and never has had any. That he was approached with a proposition to make such an alliance, which he did not accept. That Seward's friends, for their own purposes, have frequently created the impression that such an alliance existed, when it never has existed—and that he is under no obligations to them. That he regards you as the *power* at present in the Government, and would be willing to come to an understanding with you.

I believe what Gen. Banks says, and think I have correctly reported the substance of his statements. Mr. Plumly will return in three or four days, when I write you *fully* concerning this matter. He left two days before my return from Memphis, and probably expected to meet me somewhere in the river.

I now know that the letter I wrote you from Memphis was unnecessary. The Collector at St. Louis, advertised the collection of 5 per cent. on shipments to New Orleans, as I told you, but rec'd. proper instructions from you before the tax was exacted. Shipments of the Produce and live stock are coming here from St. Louis, and have already much diminished the cost of living here.

I am satisfied I did right in recommending the appointment of Mr. Hutchins in my place, as Collector of Internal Revenue. I have more than I can do, although I leave the business of the Internal Revenue almost entirely to Mr. Whitaker, the Deputy.

A great pressure is brought to bear on Mr. Flanders and myself by holders of cotton and speculators, who are urgent to bring their crops to the City by the River. Gen. Banks agreed to furnish Mr. F. with a plan whereby all interests would be protected. He submitted to Mr. F. to-day, a general order on the subject, of which I quote two sections, which are the main features of the order.

“The owners of cotton and other staple products of the country are hereby authorized to transport the same to the Mississippi River at New Orleans, Donaldsonville, Plaquemine, Port Hudson, or other points occupied by troops of the United States, and deliver the same to the authorized agents of the Treasury Department to be disposed of for the benefit of the Gov’t. according to law. Such owners or their Agents shall be entitled to receive upon such delivery, in the Treasury notes of the United States, at the rate of — cents per pound for cotton, and a proportionate sum for other staple products.”

“Loyal persons will be permitted, in addition to this payment, to present claims to the Government for such additional payment hereafter as may be deemed equitable and just. But no person shall be held or considered to have an absolute claim against the Gov’t. except for the sum specified which is to be paid upon delivery of the property.”

I do not approve, and shall advise Mr. Flanders, not to accept the foregoing, for various reasons—viz.—because I suppose the Gov’t. does not wish to speculate in cotton—because I do not think it will bring in large amounts—because I have understood that the Gov’t. had once considered the purchase of southern products by itself, and decided not to do it—because the labor will be immense much dissatisfaction will necessarily be created, and because the whole thing being managed by Treasury officers, the responsibility, blame if there be any, will fall upon the Treasury Department. I should not want to consent to such a new and decided project, without your previous sanction.

I should rather Gen. Banks would increase the tax to \$50 per bale, or say, ten cents per pound, which should be the aggregate of all taxes imposed, and then permits would be

issued to purchase anywhere on the Mississippi. In this case the Gov't. would be saved great labor and would receive large returns—and would not act as speculator. Besides I think this would bring forward much more cotton, after it was generally known. Gen. Banks and Mr. F. will, I suppose, settle on some plan in three or four days.

The city is very healthy and there are no signs of yellow fever. There are a few cases at Quarantine, as there always are, but probably we shall have none in the city this season.

I failed to mention, that Gen. Banks does not define our military lines within which trade can be permitted and probably cannot, as they frequently change. The Lafourche is the only section strictly and wholly within our lines, but that is not a cotton country.

NEW ORLEANS, *Sept. 12, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I have the honor, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (unofficial) of 26th, August.

Of late my letters have been, necessarily, hastily written and imperfect. I supposed, however, you were kept fully informed by Mr. Hutchins, and more lately by Mr. Plumly, in person.

The new regulations of which you speak have not yet reached me, but are expected by the next steamer. So far as I have observed, most of the complaints concerning the restrictions and taxes imposed come from people who are anxious to make large gains by trading with the enemy. I understand that a petition has been forwarded to you from here, asking for the removal of the five per cent. tax; but I do not think this would ever have been done, had it not been for the active exertions of Mr. Sargeant, Custom House Appraiser.

Five per cent. tax is collected on all shipments of supplies from this port to any point outside the city, whether for trade or family supplies. This is done by order of Mr. Flanders, with whom at first I did not agree as to the propriety of the order, but I now think it just and expedient. The poorer class generally buy their supplies from traders who have paid their five per cent. The planters and

wealthier people generally send orders to their commission merchants in the city, who make the shipments. I do not see any impropriety in regarding these transactions as trade. If, in this community, only what was for trade should be taxed, I think government would receive but little, for many people would not hesitate to ship, as for plantation use, what they really intended for sale, and, owing to the size of plantations, in most cases without detection.

The military authorities have interfered much with trade. Provost Marshal General Bowen allows nothing to go out of the city without the permit has his endorsement. He allows no one to use permit to trade, except the permit be first endorsed by the Pro. Marshal of the place where the goods are to be sold, and afterward endorsed in his office. On all permits to Baton Rouge two per cent. is collected by the Pro. Marshal. All cotton arriving here is taxed five dollars per bale for hospital fund. I think these unnecessary military restrictions are more vexatious to the public than all those imposed by the regulations of the Treasury Department, and I have endeavored to have them removed, and, at last, with promise of success. Gen. Bowen to-day informs me will cease to interfere, but the promise is not yet fulfilled.

I have issued several permits to purchase cotton at points within our lines and below the mouth of the Red river. Considerable cotton has already arrived here and more will arrive. The guerillas in Mississippi are burning a good deal, and have captured two or three cotton traders in the vicinity of Baton Rouge, and, it is said have hanged one or two of them.

It is important that the extent of Mr. Flanders' jurisdiction be defined. You intimate that his authority will have the same geographical boundaries as that of the Commanding General of this Department. General Banks informs me that his command terminates, and Gen. Grant's commences, at or near the mouth of Red river. Now the whole country up to points above Vicksburg has always drawn supplies from, and sent their produce to, this port. Any attempt to force trade out of its fixed and natural channels by turning the produce up the river, would be attended

with difficulty, expense and inconvenience; though the inconvenience would not be so much felt in the country between Vicksburg and Memphis. Of the truth of these statements I am reminded every day, by persons applying for supplies for Natchez and points above which have always been supplied from here, and from which the cotton has always come hither. You are aware that the factor generally makes advances on crops, and that the planter generally spends the proceeds of his crop before it goes to market. Most of these factors lived in this city, and, claims being still unsettled, they come to me for permits to bring down their cotton. I suggested to you that Mr. Flanders' district should include all south of the Northern boundary (on west side of the river) of Louisiana, said line being extended right across the State of Mississippi. At any rate, it should go as high as Vicksburg or Natchez, at least,—on both sides of the river. You can tell better than myself whether this is objectionable because Mr. F's. district would then extend into two military departments; but I should think this no objection.

Under instructions from the Treasury Department, spirituous liquors have been regarded as contraband of war, and have not been allowed to be brought to this port. On the first of September, the steamer Julia arrived here from Saint Louis, having on board more than one hundred bbls. whiskey, which was cleared (somewhat irregularly) from the Custom House at St. Louis. I detained it in Government Warehouse, not permitting it to go into consumption until receipt of instructions from you, when it will be delivered to claimants, or turned over to the District Attorney, as you may direct. Kennedy and Co., of this city, agents of the owners, have addressed a letter to you on the subject. Thirty barrels more arrived to-day, which was seized by Mr. Bullitt. If you have authorized the officers of Customs at Saint Louis to clear whiskey for this Department, I should like to be informed of it.

What you say of the "True Delta" is quite correct, but I am sure you overestimate the influence of that paper. It makes a business of assailing all persons in office without regard to merit or demerit, and with an apparent disregard of truth. When the character of the paper is well under-

stood, as it is here, its influence is small. I have reason, however, for stating that no more articles will be written in the same strain; and for the reasons above mentioned, I do not think any printed explanation is necessary.

In my former letter, I quoted two clauses of a proposed order of Gen. Banks, for the purchase of cotton on behalf of government; said cotton to be paid for at such a price as might be deemed sufficient. In your letter of the 25th. you say "that these two sections correspond exactly with my own views; and I endeavored, at the last session of Congress, to obtain authority to receive property, and pay for it in the mode, and with the further provision for contingent additional payment, which he suggests. Congress, however, refused to confer this authority, and, of course, I do not feel at liberty to exercise it."

I wish to be distinctly informed if you are in favor of this project being carried into execution by military order, myself or other officers of the Treasury Department attending to the execution thereof. The quotation above made merely expresses your preference for this mode, to be executed in a certain manner, and I cannot conclude therefrom that you would desire its execution in the manner proposed by Gen. Banks. It is not too late to adopt Gen. Banks's plan here. Texas will soon be occupied, and then no obstacle will be in the way of the execution of the plan. Please inform me if you would approve doing this thing in the manner proposed (military order), the agents of the Treasury Department executing such orders. I deem this matter of importance.

There are three distinct ways of managing the cotton trade, each having its merits and objections. First; that the military authorities should seize all produce and turn it over to the Treasury Department. Second; that they should seize nothing, but that permits should be issued to traders to purchase it. Third; that the Government should purchase at a fair price according to Gen. Banks's proposed order. These distinct plans, or a combination of two or three of them, are, I think the only methods whereby cotton may be brought out. This is not a subject that can be neglected and allowed to take care of itself, because heavy pecuniary interests are involved.

I have conversed with Gen. Banks upon this subject. If

you approve of the adoption of his order, in the manner indicated, please inform me unofficially, and I can have it carried into effect. I have no doubt, without responsibility on your part.

I enclose, for your information, a copy of letter relating to salaries this day transmitted to Commissioner of Internal Revenue.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 12th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: In your letter of the 26th, of August, you refer to an article in the "True Delta" entitled "an appeal to the West". I think you attach too much importance to the article, and overestimate the influence of the paper. The Editor Kennedy is always in opposition to those in authority, unless he can make a personal gain by being otherwise, and is fond of abusive language which he uses on all occasions. The character of the paper is so well known here that people estimate it at its true value. What else can be expected of an Irishman (as Kennedy is) with red hair?

I read to Gen. Banks such portions of your letter as were proper to be read by him, and he seemed gratified at such apparent confidence. He asked me to give him a copy of that portion of the letter referring to the "True Delta", and he would see that there was no continuance of such remarks. I complied with his request, and he saw Dr. Kennedy about it, and to-day informed me that not only would nothing more of the kind be published, but the effect of the previous article would be counteracted—so far as it could be, without an appearance of effort. Gen. Banks acted very kindly in this matter—voluntarily and sincerely. You must remember that Kennedy thinks that the greatest blessing Heaven has ever bestowed upon the South, is the institution of slavery, and of course he feels bitterly toward all supposed to be instrumental in abolishing it. You need not be surprised, however, to see before long in the "True Delta", articles strongly in your favor. I have lately cultivated Dr. Kennedy's acquaintance and had an opportunity of doing him unexpected kindness. It is, probably, needless to say that Kennedy's remarks about

the Treasury officers being political agents, etc., was entirely without excuse. I have been very cautious and so has Mr. Flanders and Plumly, about giving any ground for such a statement. The fact that we are strongly in favor of the proclamation—in other words, Abolitionists—was reason enough for Kennedy to say the most stinging things in his power. Kennedy is Banks' friend and praises him extravagantly. There have been some quarrels here among officials of the City Government, which resulted in the prosecution of a man named Collins for libel against some of the City officers. Collins was tried before Judge Hughes (the Provost Judge of the City, appointed by Gov. Shepley) and sentenced to six months imprisonment and a fine. Now Kennedy, as usual had repeated and endorsed Collins' charges with malicious vehemence, and after the trial, continued to make the same charges for which Collins was sentenced. Whereupon he was prosecuted as Collins had been, but just before the trial was to occur, an order appeared from Gen. Banks abolishing Judge Hughes' Court (which had been established by Gov. Shepley) and turning the whole business of the Court over to Gen. Bowen. Thereby Kennedy was saved from punishment, which was the main object of the order. Subsequently an order was issued depriving the Mayor (appointed by Gov. Shepley) of all control over the city telegraph, used principally for police purposes, and this was soon followed by another order prohibiting all officers from receiving any pay except what their military rank entitled them to. This was a blow aimed at Gen. Shepley's officers who have military rank, but fill civil positions for which they received the customary salary. Gov. Shepley has arrived here, and I am glad of it, for I think matters would soon have gone disagreeably far, in his absence. All this intrigue seems to me unmanly, and I consider Gen. Bowen (Pro. Marshal) mainly accountable for it. When I say that Gen. Shepley is your friend I mean, particularly, that he is an earnest advocate of that policy of which you are generally regarded as, if not the founder, at least the great and chief support. Bowen interferes with everything, but I do not think he acts openly—at least I have never observed that he did.

I frequently consult with Gen. Banks, as you request, yet without much result, for he is very slow to express a decision about anything and leaves much to his subordinate officers. This is very different from Gen. Butler, who not only decided all important matters, but personally arranged the smallest details.

A great expedition left here a few days ago. They went to Sabine pass (which divides the coast of Louisiana from that of Texas) and were disgracefully repulsed, losing three Gunboats and all the men on them—viz.—the “Clifton” 8 guns, “Sachem” 4 guns and “Clinton” guns unknown. The Clifton was a powerful boat and very heavily armed. All three of them were disabled and captured. The expedition returned here without further loss and the advance on Texas will immediately be made overland. I believe Gen. Franklin commanded the expedition. He landed with a few men, but the land was too swampy to permit the landing of a large force. Gen. Banks says the expedition failed for want of adequate supply of light draught gunboats, but I am inclined to think it was not very well planned. However the loss can easily be repaired and soon will be. The number of troops now in this Dept. is very large, and I believe they will easily sweep over Texas.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 21st, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: A new paper is started here called the “New Orleans Times”, which not only adopts the type, but is intended to be, in all respects, like the “New York Times.” Its Editor is a Mr. Hamilton, for some time the New Orleans correspondent of the “New York Times”, and its principal proprietor and capitalist is Mr. May, the planter. It has the support and patronage of Gen. Banks, who has thrown the “Era” overboard, and who expects probably that the “Times” will be a paper after his own style. I enclose the first copy.

Mr. Flanders requests me to say that “Gen. Banks, about two months ago, sent to Richmond an emissary, one Martin Gordon, a registered enemy. The ostensible purpose of his going was to make arrangements so that com-

munications between the hostile forces might be conducted in a manner more in accordance with the usages of civilized warfare, but that he (Mr. Flanders) does not believe this was the real object of his (Gordon's) visit. That Gordon returned here two or three days ago, and that the results of his visit gave great satisfaction to Gen. Banks."

There were but two boats lost at Sabine Pass—the "Clifton", 8 guns and "Sachem", 4 guns. The "Clinton" was not lost but escaped. The advance on Texas is to be made overland, as Gen. Banks informed me, and troops are—and for some time have been—collecting at Berwick's Bay. It is about time for them to start and I hear to-day that they have commenced crossing the Bay, but do not know whether it is true. I think the expedition will comprise about 35,000 men, and will undoubtedly be successful as the enemy have no adequate force to meet such numbers.

Saturday afternoon I went down the River 40 miles to see three government plantations and returned late Sunday night. These plantations will be a source of great profit to the Government—and of greater profit next year than this, because they will be systematically conducted. As I have often stated to you, it is the greatest mistake in the world to suppose that free negroes will not labor well. There has been some trouble arising out of a want of confidence on the part of the negroes that they would be honestly paid, and this want of confidence is aggravated by the fact that they were generally cheated out of their pay last year by the lessees of the plantations. Col. Butler paid his hands, but most others cheated them. We paid them yesterday a small portion of their wages (on two plantations) to show them that the Government meant to deal fairly with them. At the Point Celeste plantation 40 miles below the city, there will be two or three hundred hogsheads of sugar produced, and more than 100 bales of cotton. The nett profit on the plantation to the Gov't., will probably be \$25,000, which is probably as much as was usually cleared by the former proprietor. To go through these plantations and see their success, is both encouraging and interesting, and I intend to go up the River at the first convenient opportunity to see the plantations above.

On the other hand, the old slave-holders generally fail. The negroes have no confidence in them and will not readily work for them, even for pay. I have told you this same thing heretofore.

I have received your letter (official) informing me of a consignment to my care of coal, and that other consignments of articles considered contraband would be made in the same manner hereafter. Coal is much needed here, and there is no objection to its being sent down from Pittsburg also, by the River, under proper restrictions.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 21st, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I have been drawing the salary of "Special Agt. and Acting Surveyor", for the following reasons:—

1st. Because I did not know what my salary was to be as collector of the Internal Revenue.

2nd. Because considerable money collected on sugar, was to be returned, and therefore the amount to be taken as percentage was uncertain.

3rd. Because I had to have some money every month to pay expenses. I trouble you with this statement lest you might think I intend to draw two salaries, which has never been and is not my intention. When I receive pay as Collector of Int. Revenue and present my account I shall credit the Government what has already been received as surveyor. If this be not satisfactory, I will do whatever you suggest.

I sold a boat which I considered mine, but Bullitt thought belonged to the Government. To save discussion, I shall cause it to be considered the property of the Gov't.

I told Mr. Hutchins I had in my hands a surplus not accounted for in my old accounts as Collector of Customs. This statement was a mistake. On the contrary I am a little short, on account of one or two small vouchers never signed, but it is unimportant. My accounts as Collector of Customs, were all transmitted to Washington long ago, and it is to be hoped they will be soon examined and approved.

I have the charge of all money from whatever source col-

lected, except from customs. The amount now in my hands from all sources, is not far from four hundred thousand dollars.

The new Regulations have not yet been received. As before stated to you, it is most important that Mr. Flanders' District should extend as high as possible up the River—for reasons given heretofore.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 3rd, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I enclose several new General orders just issued by the commanding General.

Our troops are advancing up the Bayou Teche and already are some distance beyond Franklin. The Rebels will make a stand at Vermillion Bayou, if they should anywhere in Louisiana.

Everything thus far has been satisfactory.

NEW ORLEANS, *Oct. 10, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: Mr. Flanders starts for Washington to-morrow. I wish to say that my own opinions agree precisely with his, concerning all matters connected with the military administration of this Department, and concerning the comparative merits of Generals Butler and Banks.

I do not think Mr. Flanders can make any statements, stronger than my own would be in regard to these matters.

As you know, I have been here constantly, almost from the first occupation of the city by the Gov't. forces, have necessarily come in contact with all classes of people and have good opportunities of forming a correct opinion. Everybody now here (except a few most rabid secessionists) is General Butler's friend. I regard his return here as essential to the best interests of the country. The army would receive him with delight, the people with satisfaction. We have made little or no progress since he went away and I expect none until he returns.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 23, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I have to report that everything goes on well in the collection of the internal revenue and the duties under the Treasury regulations concerning trade. Business is reviving here, and the city begins to present somewhat the appearance of former times. During one day this week the receipts of cotton in the levee were about (5000) five thousand bales. The receipts of sugar and cotton will, I expect, soon be large, as there is a great deal of both in the Teche and Opelousas country which our troops are now occupying.

At the last dates, our army had entered the town of Opelousas, and was evidently going to Alexandria. There has been no serious opposition, but a good deal of skirmishing. I do not think the rebels will make a determined stand in Louisiana, unless it be at Shreveport, where they are said to be concentrated.

I do not know the number of troops in the present campaign through the Teche and Opelousas.

Gen. Banks is now in the city, but expects to leave for some point, to me unknown, in a day or two. Gen. Hamilton is also here and has made a very effective speech to the Union associations. With him is Mr. Breckinridge, whom I recommended for assistant special agent in Texas.

To-day another expedition started for Texas, composed as near as I can ascertain, of about (4000) four thousand men, and quite a number of vessels. The Texas regiment forms a part of the force, and several refugee Texans accompanied it. Gen. Hamilton, however, does not go with this force. They took with them extra arms and equipments, &c., for at least two thousand (2,000) men, and probably more. I have not been able to ascertain their destination, not wishing to make the inquiry of Gen. Banks; but I think it is in the neighborhood of Corpus Christi, or Brownsville at the mouth of the Rio Grande. I hope they will have better luck and more discretion than they had at Sabine Pass.

When Mr. Flanders went away he left in my hands the *Era* newspaper property, which had been turned over to his hands by the Chief Quartermaster. He made the impression on my mind that an organization had been thoroughly effected

to make a bold *free* state paper out of it at once, but after his departure I soon found that this impression was wholly erroneous. There was no organization, no plan, and I found that it was expected of me to develop and organize a paper by my own management and resources. The Times newspaper, principally owned by Mr. Thos. T. May, planter, has been a milk and water concern from the commencement. This was not the fault of Mr. May, whose opinions are positive and radical, but one sixth of the paper was controlled by an adverse, "planting interest". This one sixth I have succeeded in buying out, and as one third more is owned by a warm friend of mine, I shall be able, after making some other arrangements, which it is not worth while to mention, to control the paper as to any favorite policy or man. I shall endeavor to secure also to Mr. Plumly an interest in the Times. Of course it is not publicly known that I have anything to do with it. I cannot now determine what to do with the Era, but shall use my best judgment about it. I desire to control, directly or indirectly, three papers in this city (i. e. two besides the "Times",) that they may be induced to advocate the reestablishment of State authority here under a new Constitution—a *free* constitution forever prohibiting slavery in Louisiana; and also that they may give a just prominence to the importance of government finances and a just appreciation of the ability with which they are managed.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 5th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I once gave you my opinion briefly of Dr. Cottman, but think proper to repeat it more fully now. Dr. Cottman has as much personal influence as any man in Louisiana,—perhaps more, and he has it without deserving it. He justly possesses a great reputation as physician and surgeon, though now he practices but little. He is active, energetic, full of zeal and determination in whatever he undertakes, of unconquerable prejudices, and utterly unreliable. He knows everyone and is known to everyone. His manners are pleasing. He is said to play a good game of poker, and possesses a greater imagination than memory.

All these qualities make him the most valuable and uncertain of friends—or as an enemy much to be dreaded. He has no reputation for veracity; those who know him best put no confidence in anything he says; yet he repeats his statements with such energy and assurance, that they have a certain effect.

He tells me he has several confidential and important letters from the President, and I am informed that the President addresses him as “Dear Tom”, and yet when he was last in Washington he wrote letters to Louisiana which would not please the President, if he should see them. In one letter, written just before he left Washington, he informs his correspondent that “the Lincoln government has gone to the devil; that the Southern Confederacy is a fixed fact”; and that his correspondent, a planter, “must have patience and hold on and all would be well.” This letter was written to a gentleman up the river, whose plantation was visited three weeks ago by Gov. Shepley, Capt. Cozzens and myself. He showed the letter to Gov. Shepley and Capt. Cozzens, both of whom informed me of its contents.

Personally, Dr. Cottman and myself are excellent friends, but in the proper reorganization of this State, he will do all he can to thwart the efforts of free-state men.

Of the pro-slavery secret society, which tried to spring an election upon the people here, Mr. Summers was an active and leading member. Mr. Summers was formerly Recorder in this city, and is a *pro-slavery Union man*, if that expression does not contain a contradiction of terms, and as Superintendent of Bonded Warehouses, holds a sinecure office in the Custom House at \$1500. per year.

Another member of this society—Mr. Fellows—is an old friend of mine, but I believe was drawn into it by the influence of his wife and her relatives, and that he now deeply regrets his action.

The registration of loyal voters is now progressing under the supervision of Mr. Durant, appointed by Gov. Shepley. The Union Associations have already become in effect free-State Associations, and will have great influence, whenever an election occurs.

I am not informed when an election will be ordered, but probably not until we hold more of the State than at present.

In my last I informed you that an expedition of about 4,000 men had gone to Texas, probably to the western portion near the Rio Grande. This has not yet been heard from, but we now expect intelligence nearly every day. The main portion of the army is near Opelousas, where they have been advancing and retreating for the past month. I suppose we have about 30,000 men there, and the rebel army opposed to them is about 8,000 strong, of whom about 5,000 are cavalry and mounted infantry. I know nothing of the plan of the campaign, and no one else seems to know anything about it; but under a military leader like Gen. Banks, we are bound to believe that the best plan of profoundest strategy has been adopted.

The interference of the navy in the commerce of the lower Mississippi, about which I wrote you recently, has ceased or nearly so, and is no longer a source of annoyance.

Cotton is coming in freely. The amount of cotton shipped from this port from the 18th. of March to the first of November, is 30,500 bales and there are 7,000 or 8,000 bales in the city. I shall expect the arrival of perhaps 50,000 bales before the first of next June and much more than that if the military successes are what might be expected from so large an army as is now in this Department.

The receipts of money are becoming quite large, both in the Internal Revenue office and in the Internal Trade office. The amount received in both these offices together to-day is \$34,000, yesterday \$32,000, Day before yesterday \$48,000. I shall soon have \$1,000,000. of government money in my hands.

Everything in the way of business is now going on well and satisfactorily.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 6th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I told you in a former letter of the N. O. Times, and of my expected success in purchasing an interest in it. This success is fully achieved, and I own a sixth interest in the paper. You will find henceforth that the

N. O. Times will be particularly the friend, supporter and advocate of yourself. You mentioned Mr. May in a speech in Cincinnati I think. A brief report of the speech was published here and gave Mr. May much gratification. He will be your friend. The paper is rather feebly edited at present, but that can be rectified. I have proposed the publication of a Weekly edition, and the "Weekly N. O. Times" will appear in a few days.

The N. O. Era was turned over to Mr. Flanders by the Quartermaster. Gen. Banks has taken it back again and assumed control of it, under military authority. The reason for this action I do not understand. Gen. Banks is now absent on the Texas expedition. When he returns, I hope, through Mr. Plumly, to make some arrangement whereby Mr. Plumly and his and my friends, can control the Era and its political management.

The establishment of a national bank is in progress. The amount already subscribed is about \$250,000. At a meeting of the subscribers, a resolution, introduced by myself, was passed, to the effect that the capital stock of the bank should be not less than \$500,000. That amount can be obtained, and probably much more. When the thing first started, I feared that it might be controlled by those who were not warm friends of the administration, but there is now no ground for such fears, as four-fifths of the stock subscribed is owned by men of unconditional loyalty. In addition to what is already subscribed, young Mr. Graham, who is here, and brought letters from Mr. Plantz and friends of yours, has authorized me to put his name down for from \$50,000. to \$150,000. as may be necessary. Mr. Graham is the son of Col. John L. Graham. Mr. Hutchins is expected here in a few days, and I expect the subscription of himself and friends will be large.

The following advertisement presents the names of some of the stockholders. My own subscription is necessarily small.

From the organization of this bank you may be assured that whatever political influence it has, will be upon the right side.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 6th, 1863.*

DEAR SIR: A political movement has lately been made in this State, which threatened to be of considerable consequence. It seems an organization was made many weeks ago by the "planting interest," the copperhead faction and a few pro-slavery Union men. Persons went to Washington to get promises of support, but the whole matter was managed with entire secrecy, both as to the real object to be accomplished, and the method of its accomplishment.

The object of the movement was simply to restore the State to the Union with the old constitution, with slavery restored and preserved, and to place the whole authority of the State government in the hands of a few pro-slavery leaders, who are simply unsuccessful, but not repentant, secessionists. The organization, composed of but few members, some dozen or twenty, held secret meetings, intending to spring suddenly an election upon the people on the second inst., and accomplish their designs by a kind of *coup d'etat*. Had they been successful, they expected Mississippi and other southern States would have followed their example.

When Dr. Cottman returned from Washington, great activity among them was apparent. The Dr. travelled up the river and through the Lafourche. He also went to Vicksburg, and passed out into the State of Mississippi beyond the federal lines. He informed me that he had with him important letters from President Lincoln, which enabled him to make the expedition with safety with the hope of great results; that he consulted with Judge Sharkey, and many other principal men of Mississippi, all of whom coincided with his views and wishes, and promised that Mississippi would follow wherever Louisiana would take the lead. He even said President Davis was in favor of peace, and willing that he himself should be sacrificed if the people desired it. In their secret meeting it was stated to this cabal that 'their plan was favored by—('I suppose this meant the President') by Mr. Seward and by Mr. Blair; that Gen. Grant had promised to assist as much as he could through his Provost Marshals in the Northern part of the State; and it was also approved by General Banks.'

Dr. Cottman returned from Vicksburg, and on the 26th of October the accompanying pronunciamiento was published:

[Advertisement.]

An Address to the Citizens of Louisiana.

We address you as citizens loyal to the Government of the United States, and, as such, having duties to perform to your State, your country and Republican institutions. These institutions are in danger; your country is engaged in a terrible and devastating war, and your State without a regularly organized civil Government. The obligations resting upon you to perform these duties are paramount, and require from you, in some particulars, an energetic, immediate action.

The want of civil Government in our State can, by a proper effort on your part, soon be supplied, under laws and a Constitution formed and adopted by yourselves, in a time of profound peace. It is made your duty, as well as your right, to meet at the usual places, and cast your votes for State and Parish officers, members of Congress and of the State Legislature.

Hitherto in our history the direction of these elections has been had by your chosen agents, the executive officers of the State government. Now all these are found absent from their posts, and there are no others in their places who have issued the customary orders or made the usual preparation for the coming election. The day, as fixed by our laws, is Monday, the 2d day of November next, 1863; but because of this, there is and can be no reason why you should be prevented from the full exercise of your political rights and duties. Heretofore, in a thousand instances, the people have met and exercised the right of suffrage at the appointed time, without any other formal call than that proclaimed by the law itself; and in a hundred cases of contested elections, the votes thus cast have been decided to have been legally cast, and the persons voted for been decreed to have been legally elected.

There is, then, nothing to prevent your meeting on the day fixed by law, and selecting your agents to carry on the affairs of government in your own State. The military will not interfere with you in the quiet exercise of your civil rights and duties, and we think we can assure you that your action in this respect will meet the approval of the National Government. Even now, the day of election in every rebellious State has passed, with the exception of Louisiana, and should you suffer that to pass, the whole country will be in a state of anarchy, without any civil government of the people's own choosing, and subject to the danger of being thrown, as "vacated" territory, into the hands of Congress, where the wish of many is, that our State, with others, shall be thrown. We charge this design upon a certain faction here and at the North, the result of whose action, in our minds, threatens to destroy Republican liberty and Republican institutions.

We urge upon you *action* in this important crisis. It will convince the world of our wish and determination to do what in us lies to return

to the management of our civil affairs; it will encourage all who are desirous of peace in other States; it will have a tendency to cause those in arms against their common country to cease this deadly strife; it will set an example to all—both North and South—which it would be wholesome for them to follow; in short, the tendency of your course on the approaching day of election, will be for the weal or woe of our common country, as you act the part of true citizens by voting, or by neglecting to vote fail in your duty.

On the 2d day of November, then, go to the polls and cast your votes as usual; your chosen Congressmen will take their seats on the 1st Monday of December; your chosen Legislators will meet on the 3d Monday of January and organize; your State officers will on the same day be inaugurated, and thus the wheels of Civil Government will be once more set in motion in our State, and, we trust prosperously and for the benefit of mankind. Fail to make this little effort, and your last opportunity for renewing Civil State Government, in accordance with legal provisions, will fruitlessly pass, with the probable destruction of Republican Institutions.

Louisiana has always been at heart loyal to the United States. She never seceded by a majority vote. The true interests of her citizens comported only with her remaining loyally in the Union. She was juggled and forced into the position of seeming rebellion, but in our opinion she was and is still one of the United States. Now that it is practicable—thanks to the gallant Army and Navy of the United States—her citizens desire to assume forthwith their old *status*, and to replace the star of their State, with lustre bright as ever, on the glorious flag of our common country.

We raise no minor points. Our objects are TO RESTORE THE UNION AND PRESERVE THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION. If the influence of successive events and altered circumstances require changes in our domestic laws and policy, we shall hereafter have leisure to effect these changes. The rebellion is over when all *opposition* to the execution of the laws is subdued. These laws, however, necessarily and as a consequence remain, and only traitorously disposed persons will impede their effective operation.

Let us arise, then, and go forth and perform the imperative and sacred duty of electing the officers of a Civil Government for Louisiana, on Monday, the second day of November, the time appointed by our laws; and if we fail, it may be the last time we will have the power of acting as freemen.

By order of the Executive Central Committee of Louisiana.

W. W. PUGH, *President*.

E. AMES, *Vice President*.

J. Q. A. FELLOWS, *Secretary*.

NEW ORLEANS, October 26, 1863.

Gov. Shepley addressed a letter to Gen. Banks, making inquiries if this thing was by his wish, and received a reply

which I have seen, in which Gen. Banks disapproved the project totally, as undesirable, illegal and unauthorized. This secret association had already nominated all the State officers and members of Congress. J. L. Riddell, former postmaster, was to be Governor, Cottman was one of the candidates for Congress. On the list of candidates were two registered enemies, two who had signed the ordinance of secession (Cottman one of these,) and two or more who had held military office under the Confederacy. They did not publish their ticket, (though I have seen some of them.) The method by which they became known it is not necessary to mention.

About this time they made application to the Union Associations, by a letter to the President, Mr. Durant, requesting their cooperation. Mr. Durant replied, and the correspondence, which was published, is annexed hereto.

Correspondence.

At a meeting of the FREE STATE GENERAL COMMITTEE of the Union Associations of the Parishes of New Orleans and Jefferson, held on FRIDAY EVENING, the 30th. Oct., 1863, the President, having laid before the Committee copies of a communication from the officers of the Louisiana State Executive Committee, and the reply of the President and Secretary thereto, it was, on motion,

Resolved, Unanimously, that the action of the President and Secretary be approved, and the said correspondence published in the *Times* and *Era*.

LOUISIANA STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,
No. 83, ST. CHARLES STREET,
New Orleans, October 27, 1863.

To the President and Members of the Central Committee of the Parishes of New Orleans and Jefferson:

GENTLEMEN—With the object of speedily and completely restoring Louisiana to her proper position as a loyal member of the Union, we cordially invite you to join us, on MONDAY next, the 2d of November, the day fixed by the laws of Louisiana for a general election, in the election of members of Congress, State officers and members of the Legislature.

We have the honor to inclose you herewith:

1st. An address to the citizens of Louisiana, dated October 27th, inst., in which our views are set forth.

2d. Copy of the rules and regulations adopted by us for the conduct of

the election, in which we believe you will see proper to concur. If you dissent from them in any respect, we shall be happy to entertain any suggestions of yours for changing them.

3rd. A complete list of our nominations for Congressmen, State officers, and the Legislative Representatives from New Orleans. So far as you may dissent from our nominations, you will, of course, make them for yourselves, a matter which will give you little trouble and consume but little time, because of your thorough organizations. Your partisans and ours all aim to replace our State fully in the Union, with the advantages of a Civil Government of her own, administered by loyal officers chosen by her loyal citizens. We are aiming to accomplish this in a manner which we deem strictly legal and eminently practical. We propose to postpone the consideration of subordinate matters, however important in themselves, until this paramount object is accomplished. If we are not misinformed, you propose to get this State in position again through the agency of a Convention of the people, to be called hereafter. With all due courtesy, gentlemen, we assent to take the voice of the people, through the ballot-box, on the propriety of calling a Convention. The election of Monday next will in no wise interfere with or delay the call for a Convention; but considering the unavoidable days attendant upon the Convention plan, if that alone be relied upon for the restoration of Civil Government; and moreover, considering how important it is that we should be represented in the United States Congress, which meets the 1st. Monday in December next, little more than a month hence, we trust you will reciprocate our courtesy and co-operate with us in the election to be held on Monday next.

Respectfully communicated, in obedience to the resolution of the Committee.

W. W. PUGH, *President,*

EDWARD AMES, *Vice President.*

J. Q. A. FELLOWS, *Secretary.*

FREE STATE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE UNION ASSOCIATIONS
OF THE PARISHES OF NEW ORLEANS AND JEFFERSON.

New Orleans, October 28th. 1863.

To W. W. PUGH, Esq., *President;* E. AMES, Esq., *Vice President;* J. Q. A. FELLOWS, Esq., *Secretary, Executive Central Committee of Louisiana:*

GENTLEMEN: On yesterday, between one and two o'clock, P. M. the President of this Committee received your communication of that date.

You invite us to join you on Monday next, the 2d of November, the day, you say, fixed by law for a General Election, in the election of members of Congress, State Officers and members of the State Legislature.

The enclosures referred to by you, viz:

1st. Address to the people of Louisiana.

2nd. Copy of rules and regulations adopted by you for the conduct of the election.

3rd. A complete list of your nominations have not been received.

We respectfully decline the invitation you have tendered.

No election for Members of Congress can be held in Louisiana until the State shall have been divided into five Congressional Districts, composed of contiguous territory, each District to elect one member only, according to the act of Congress of 14th July, 1862. (See 12th. Statutes at Large, p. 572.)

The State can be divided into Districts only by the Legislature thereof, or by Congress, according to the first paragraph of the fourth section of the first article of the Constitution of the United States.

We consider your proposed attempt to hold elections for Congress, setting aside all questions of your total want of authority to hold any election whatever, as a violation of the Constitution and the act of Congress, which are the supreme law of the land.

There is no law in existence, as stated by you, directing elections to be held on the first Monday of November.

The Constitution of 1852, as amended by the Convention of 1861, was overthrown and destroyed by the rebellion of the people of Louisiana, and the subsequent conquest by the arms of the United States does not restore our political institutions.

But not only is your movement illegal, but unjust; you are only a party. What principles of State policy you may entertain you have not referred to in your communication. As a party, then, without the consent and against the wishes of the only lawful authority here, the Military Governor and the Commanding General, you undertake to appoint your own Commissioners of Election; hold the polls at such places as you may select; admit such electors as to you may seem proper, and on such proceeding you propose to declare yourselves (for who could be chosen but yourselves?) officers of the State of Louisiana, and to assume the functions of a State Government here; while in all these proceedings, the plan of which is known only to yourselves, your opponents have no opportunity of participating. We beg you to reflect how unjust such a course would be, could it be carried out.

We look upon the result of such an attempt as a mere nullity, producing no legal effect.

Our cooperation in your movement, which we refuse, could not give it the semblance of validity. Neither you, nor we, nor both of us together, are the people of Louisiana; nor have we the right to treat as null and void the act of the Government of the United States, as you propose to do.

The Military Governor has ordered a Registration of the names of all citizens who are willing to take a certain oath of allegiance to the United States, with the view of ordering an election of Members to a Constitutional Convention. The test oath, you will find on examination, to be conceived in the most liberal spirit. It excludes no man on account of his past conduct. It rejects no man on account of his opinions on "subordinate matters however important in themselves." Every loyal man can take that oath.

The Registration, when completed, will have ascertained, who the

loyal citizens of the State are, and, with the cordial cooperation of loyal men, it can soon be completed. This we consider the only just path to the restoration of Civil Government in the State, and we would be most happy if you would tread it in our company.

Believing, then, that the course you propose to pursue is illegal and unjust, however loyal may be the sentiments which inspire it, we again respectfully decline the invitation you have courteously extended us, to co-operate with you.

And with great respect, gentlemen, for yourselves personally, we have the honor to be your most obedient servants.

THOMAS J. DURANT, *President.*

JAMES GRAHAM, *Secretary.*

P. S. The enclosures you spoke of have since been received.

T. J. D.

Gov. Shepley, by two or three firm but mild letters, put a stop to the whole proceeding. Had they proceeded with an election, he would probably have broken it up by arresting and imprisoning the whole gang. As it was, they had not the opportunity to become martyrs; and the whole movement, which was nothing but copperheadism and secessionism in disguise, after creating much excitement and indignation among the Union men, resolved itself into a ridiculous farce. The whole thing has had a healthy effect, and weakened and disgraced its authors. The newspapers, *Times* and *Era*, assumed the proper position and in the proper manner. I clip from them the two enclosed articles, as illustrating the view taken of the affair by Union men.

The other leading newspapers were silent.

NEW ORLEANS, *Nov. 20th, 1863.*

• DEAR SIR: The Bank enterprise progresses well. The amount already subscribed is over \$500,000. and some of the subscribers have already paid in the first installment. I have used every exertion to advance the undertaking and not without results. Mr. Graham has subscribed largely and done all he could. He will be one of the Directors and probably cashier. It is intended the capital shall be \$500,000.

I shall endeavor to have the whole stock paid in during the next sixty days, that the whole may be at once invested in bonds and that we may get under full headway at once.

Anxiety is felt, lest the supply of U. S. bonds should be exhausted before we are ready to purchase. I hope you will retain, if possible, bonds to the amount of \$250,000. for us, and if I succeed in getting the whole sum paid in, we shall want twice that amount. I do not hesitate to make this suggestion, knowing that you understand the importance of starting the First National Bank of New Orleans successfully and without delay. The men controlling this thing, are of the right kind. I shall send you a list of the stockholders. Dr. Cottman goes to Washington to-morrow. I recently told you about a letter written by him to a planter here. It seems that Gov. Shepley and Capt. Cozzens told Gen. Thomas and Gen. Wadsworth about it, who told Cottman, who goes to Washington to explain and probably to accuse and make trouble. He says that he takes the letter with him, that the President and yourself may see exactly what he wrote. Of course I had nothing to do with the matter. I gave my opinion of Dr. Cottman in a former letter. Mr. Plumly thinks he has not much influence, but I know he has and gave the reasons. Dr. Cottman is not a valuable friend, but he would be an unpleasant enemy. He is by no means hostile to you, and should not be permitted to become hostile.

Of course you already know of the capture of Brownsville, Texas. It is reported that 3,000 refugees have come in already. Gen. Hamilton left for Texas to-day and Mr. Brackenridge, Ass't. Sp. Agent went with him. Gen. Banks has not yet returned. I am annoyed a good deal about trade, and trade stores, for want of co-operation and approval of some of the military authorities, but it will come out all right. I repeatedly requested Gen. Banks when here, to define the Trade and Supply Districts, but, as usual, failed to obtain any sort of decision. He is expected here shortly and it shall then be arranged.

There has been some skirmishing between the different authorities—Gen. Stone—the Quartermaster—Gen. Shepley, Gen. Bowen and the District attorney. It is of little or no consequence, and I only mention it, because, probably, Dr. Cottman will exaggerate it. I have no trouble with any one. The District Attorney pitched into me last week,

and seized all the cotton in the City Warehouses. He was defeated and never knew who hurt him.

Military operations in Louisiana seem to be at a stand—nothing is being done on the Teche and many of the troops are being withdrawn to be sent to Banks in Texas.

I hope Mr. Flanders will return soon, for I have more to do than can be well done by one person—especially since this Bank business has taken much time and effort.

NEW ORLEANS. *Dec. 4th 1863.*

DEAR SIR: I have received from Mr. Flanders, your appointment of myself as Sp. Agent and Acting Collector, and assumed the duties of the office on the first of this month.

You can understand, although I cannot adequately express, my appreciation of your kindness in restoring me to my former position. I value it chiefly because it enables me to be of more use to you, than would be possible in any other place.

Mr. Graham has been unanimously elected Cashier of the new Bank, and starts for Washington to-morrow morning. He is quite well informed in regard to all matters here, and his personal statement will give you fuller information than anything I can write. Mr. Graham has worked zealously for the Bank and is already well known and much respected here.

Mr. Flanders was elected President on the understanding that he should resign the Supervising Sp. Agency in favor of Mr. Plumly. I assure you that his resignation should be accepted and Mr. Plumly receive the appointment. This is essential to the success of the Bank and your interests. I do not want to be Supervising Sp. Agent, for I can be of more use to you in my present position. Mr. Flanders cannot long retain his present position, for next month Gov. Shepley will order an election, and then Mr. Flanders is sure to go into political position. This he can do and still be the Bank President—though he could not be a Sup. Sp. Agent. Besides Mr. Flanders has not sufficient *executive* business ability to attend to the various and perplexing

affairs of the Agency—but Plumly has. Mr. F. is truly and wholly your friend. On this point I asked him directly, and his answer was satisfactory—for he is entirely truthful and earnest. I hope you will not think best to hesitate concerning this change.

I thank you again for your repeated kindness and your confidence and remain,

DECEMBER 20TH, 1863.

DEAR SIR: Everything is quiet in the Department of the Gulf—and likely to remain so.

Gen. Weitzel was absent four days on his expedition, of which the object was to destroy the Rebel Gunboat “Cotton”, which was accomplished. Gen. Weitzel lost six men killed and 27 wounded. Loss of the enemy in killed, wounded and prisoners, about three times as much. I learned from Weitzel last night, that he undertook the expedition on his own responsibility and without the knowledge of Gen. Banks.

I hear from outside our lines, that the enemy are removing all the new troops from the Mississippi to Virginia, and replacing them with a greater number of veterans from the Virginia army. That they are throwing some of these veterans into the Teche country—placing some at Port Hudson, and are making every arrangement for a desperate defence of the Mississippi.

I regret to say that it seems to me Gen. Banks will not succeed here. He has accomplished nothing, even in making preparations. The universal wish (except from secessionists) is for the return of Gen. Butler. Even if all the accusations against him were true, he would accomplish great things of benefit to the country. He used to do more in three days than Gen. Banks has done since his arrival. This is the most important point in the whole country, and the most able man should be here. I thought things were bad enough when Gen. Butler was here, though I believe there was nothing wrong except toleration of speculators—but now, although there seems to be entire honesty, the situation and prospect is disheartening.

The "Avieto" has escaped from Mobile. Com. Preble, you remember, was dismissed for permitting her to run in. She carries seven or eight guns, is not iron-clad, and is tolerably swift.

No military movements are going on, nor in preparation, so far as I can see

Gen. Banks declines doing anything for Texas. I asked him to send one regiment and a battery to Brownsville, capture the place—form a nucleus for refugee Texans—furnish them with ammunition and break up the immense trade between Mexico and the Confederate States. He declined. This trade is already very large, and is rapidly increasing. It extends down as far as San Luis Potosi. Enclosed are copies of two important letters from the Consuls at Monterey and Matamoras. Please read them. This trade must be stopped; only a portion of it is through Matamoras—but it is absorbing the whole of Northern Mexico. A small force (perhaps 5,000 men) with plenty of extra cavalry equipments for the Texans, would accomplish it.

P. S. Gen. Hamilton and staff leave to-day for Washington, via N. Y.

[Copy.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE AT MATAMORAS, *Dec. 9, 1862.*

MY DEAR SIR: Since Martial Law has been done away with in Texas, the people have a better chance to leave the State. All the men that came with you and after, I have sent to New Orleans, and I see that they are forming a regiment in that city comprised entirely of Texans.

It has been rumored here that you was in Galveston with a large force, for the twentieth time, and although I know that such is not the case, yet as I expect you will be there soon, I have not contradicted the report, hoping every day to know that you are on the soil of your own State again, in as good condition as your enemies.

There is up the river a large force of Mexicans who have been driven from Texas, numbering about thirteen hundred, of whom one half are well armed and mounted, but short of ammunition. They are being joined by a few Americans, and they now keep the frontier, as far as San Antonio, in a perfect ferment. The Military Commander of San Antonio wrote to Gov. Vidaurri, which was published in the Official Bulletin of Monterey, "that a large force of Mexicans belonging to towns in the State of Taumalipas [sic] had armed themselves to invade the State

of Texas induced and paid by the American Consul in Matamoras." Gov. Vidaurri made them a very evasive answer saying that he had nothing to do with citizens of Taumalipas, but that he had written to the Governor of that State, informing him of the fact. Nothing has been said to me about it, neither do I expect there will be, but I have given them to understand that I have told these parties, "that as citizens of the United States they had a better right to their own property, which they left in Texas, than the man calling himself the Military Commander of San Antonio."

Everything continues as usual about here. I am still over-run with refugees, still get as many compliments in the Brownsville Flag. The Yellow Fever has been very bad on both sides of the river, but is now nearly gone.

I think I have done pretty well so far having run through the seige, Yellow Fever, and various kidnapping threats without any befalling me that can be considered serious.

Ogle and Fulton from Lockhart are here, and so are many others of your admirers, probably most of them unknown to you.

Your family were all well two weeks ago, so were those of Mr. Haynes and Judge Davis. At any time you wish to have your family out, you have only to drop a line to me, and I think it can be done, if not, it shall not be from lack of exertion on my part.

The Texans are terribly frightened, particularly since you arrived in the North. They look upon it as the heaviest blow they have received, and they also think that you are aware of everything that is going on in Texas.

We have just heard of the arrival of the National Army at the Rappahannock, and everybody is talking at once, so that I am writing blind, as it were.

Fenn is making his usual noise, and still holds out at the Refugees' Retreat.

Gen. Butler wrote to me that he should send a steamer here soon to take off all that wish to join, and I have been collecting all that it is possible to collect, and if the steamer does not make her appearance shortly, I shall be obliged to hire a vessel to take them to save supporting them.

Mr. Blood delivered the papers sent by you and for which we all feel very thankful. Your speeches made in New York have been read and re-read and studied over, until I expect that Fenn can repeat the whole.

Everybody sends their regards.

Yours truly,

Signed) L. PIERIO, Jr.

Hon. A. I. HAMILTON,
New York City.

P. S. I shall send this in triplicates, one to New Orleans, one to New York and one to Washington.

[Copy.]

UNITED STATES CONSULATE AT

MONTEREY, MEXICO, Nov. 4, 1862.

DEAR FRIEND: * * * Where is Col. Hamilton? If in New Orleans, tell him the rebels are buying up everything here that can be eaten, worn, or that can be used to kill Union men. It is astonishing to see the enormous quantities of goods that go from here into Texas. Millions of dollars worth of cotton are sold here monthly, all of which is sent back to the rebels by their agents here, in the shape of powder, lead, coffee, blankets, shoes, rope, sugar, cotton goods of all kinds, and in fact everything that can be used by the army. An order is here now for 600,000 blankets, all of which can be had, and with a sufficient amount of money to pay for them.

I. R. Baylor is getting up another brigade for the invasion of Arizona and New Mexico. He intends to start about January 1st. An agent is here now buying a wagon train for him.

Agents are on the frontier, and as far in the interior as San Luis Potosi, buying up all the wheat and flour that can be had and are already sending it across the Rio Grande daily. Most of the goods going from here cross the river at Fort Duncan. Only a few cross at Laredo or Roma. Until this trade is cut off, Texas will not feel the blockade, at least the Western part. If the Federal force could only be sent to Fort Brown, it would have the effect to stop the trade almost entirely.

You can hardly have an idea of the way Union men are being treated in Texas. They are hung on the slightest suspicion, and by bodies of irresponsible men, who, were they in a country where law was respected, would not be allowed outside a prison yard. You have probably heard of the way that small body of Union men were treated by the Texas Rangers and a part of I. McDuff's compy. at the head of the Neuces. I learned from a gentleman here, who had a conversation with an officer who was present at the massacre, that twelve passports from Provost Marshals of Western Texas, were found on the bodies of the Union men killed, by which they were allowed to pass freely over any part of the frontier. After the affair on the Neuces, another party of twenty Germans were attacked on the Rio Grande as they were preparing to cross it, by a large party of Rangers. They succeeded in killing a number of the Rangers and driving them back, only having in the party one man wounded slightly. They immediately crossed the river, leaving their horses with the Texans, and throwing their guns into the water.

I have been making every effort to get McKane from San Antonio and am now in hopes of succeeding. * * * He has been sentenced to imprisonment for the war, and to wear a ball and chain.

* * * We have here at present upon this frontier about one thousand Union men, who are only waiting for an invasion of Texas to get a chance to join the Federal army. * * *

Yours truly,

(Signed)

M. M. KIMMEY,
U. S. Vice Consul.

NEW ORLEANS, *Feb. 5th 1864.*

DEAR SIR: In my last letter I failed to mention the name of Mr. Flanders as a candidate for Governor, because he had informed the Bank Directors that he should not be a candidate, which statement was supposed to settle the matter. Unexpectedly and just before the meeting of the Union nominating convention, he was announced as a candidate. The convention was about equally divided between Hahn and Flanders, and ended in the nomination of Mr. Hahn—the friends of Mr. Flanders having bolted formed another convention which nominated Mr. F. We have therefore two Union candidates in the field. The only distinction I feel able to make is, that one is a Banks and the other an Anti-Banks party. In conformity with what I understood to be the wishes of the President and yourself, I have followed Gen. Banks' lead and support Hahn. To this however I was committed while it was not supposed Mr. Flanders intended to run.

In my opinion Mr. F. stands no chance, nor is he likely to be of benefit to you, since, being your friend, he is the leader of a faction. Col. Howe has arrived and I hope his influence may harmonize and arrange matters.

I enclose a very important order of Gen. Banks, regulating labor for the next year. I think it the best order issued by him. There has been a great change here in popular opinion in favor of Gen. Banks. This change has been marked during the last three weeks, and I think has more influence and stands higher here to-day, than at any time heretofore.

We shall continue to have a great number of assemblies and social parties, until the election is over. Please read the enclosed slip concerning a party given by Major Plumly which was a great success.

NEW ORLEANS, *February 19th, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: I have but little new to write, as, since my last letter, matters have gone on about as usual. As I predicted, the political contest has become quite bitter, as all such contests do, which spring from local questions, and

personal prejudice. The Hahn papers accuse (*very unjustly*) Mr. Flanders, of basely using his official position for his own political advancement, while the others retort by hand-bills promulgating the fact that Mr. Hahn was a Notary Public under Confederate rule. Public meetings, speeches, music and processions prevail every night. I see no chance of reconciliation although it is, for some reasons, to be desired. But one good end is secured by the bitterness of this contest—viz; every voter will be called out, and a vote will be polled much larger and more respectable than could otherwise be. The Conservatives are by no means idle and, without just reason, profess hopes of success. Mr. Roselius declined to run on their ticket and Mr. Fellows is now their candidate for Governor. They held a meeting last night at the Orleans theatre, respectable in numbers and enthusiastic. Old Jacob Barker was the principal speaker and expressed earnest disapproval of Mr. Lincoln. He then spoke highly and at some length of Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, and although disagreeing with him politically, expressed an earnest desire, on account of his great and well known ability, that he might be the next President. I shall send you his speech if it is to be published. You see we are thoroughly mixed up here. I think Mr. Hahn will be elected without a doubt—that the conservative candidate will come next, and that Mr. Flanders will poll the smallest vote. Fellows would probably have been elected, had not Gen. Banks issued an order requiring voters to take the proclamation oath, which order I enclose herewith. I also enclose a correspondence between Mr. Barker and others, and Gen. Banks.

Previous to the nomination by the Convention I worked zealously for Mr. Hahn, knowing that his unanimous nomination would heal all dissension. Since then I have *quietly* done what I could for him. Some of Mr. Flanders' friends insinuate that I have been sold out and betrayed into support of Banks and Hahn against yourself. It is not true. I know what I am about and have acted wisely, but no one pretends to think I have at heart the political interest of any one but yourself. Your conversation and Mr. Lincoln's plainly indicated that we ought to follow Gen. Banks'

lead. When I returned, Mr. Flanders had plainly announced to the Directors of the Bank that he was not a candidate, and should not be one, and thereupon I became committed at once to Mr. Hahn. Having been Gen. Banks' messenger to Washington I could not with honor, act differently from what I have. Besides how could I serve your interests, by connecting myself with a faction, which is sure to have the eye-teeth whipped out of them? The only way to get power here, is to form a part of the ruling and successful combination, and Plumly and myself hope to make our course advance your own interests.

Some of the correspondents of the New York papers have written that the "Hahn and Bullitt" party were the Lincoln party, while Flanders' supporters were the Chase party. Bullitt got them to write this, the correspondents being new comers. I have since become acquainted with them and taken charge of them, and these statements have been thoroughly corrected by last mail.

I am glad Col. Howe came down here. He is working for you, and having the confidence of Banks, will do good. I think Gen. Banks is your friend. Col. Howe has taken an interest in the "Times" newspaper, which has ceased to be neutral and come out for Hahn. If Mr. Whitlaw Reed will only arrive here soon we can make a very strong paper out of it. Mr. Tucker has arrived and assumed the duties of his office. He will be of use here, understanding as he does, all the details of Custom House business. The General business of the port has largely increased of late, and Mr. Tucker's arrival is opportune.

Gen. Banks will remain in the city till about the first of March. Some great military operation seems to be in preparation but I am unable to say in what direction it is intended to move.

I gave a letter of introduction to you, to Mr. Marshal, of Natchez, Miss. He is one of the best men of that State, and worth being acquainted with.

NEW ORLEANS, *March 5th*, 1864.

DEAR SIR: My letters have not been frequent of late, for the reason that nothing has transpired, except the election,

and concerning this, I had explained to you the situation, my own position and the results which were sure to follow. These results were as I predicted, except that Mr. Hahn's majority was larger and the vote for Mr. Flanders smaller, than was anticipated.

I had and still have, some misgivings as to what you may think of my action in this election, because, being at a distance, you form your opinion of the contest from statements of interested parties. You will know at some future time, if you do not know it now, that I have acted wisely, and pursue the only course honorable for me. After my visit to Washington, I could only follow Gen. Banks' lead. If that visit had never been made, I should probably have done the same thing. This whole contest has been a personal one, and I have failed to detect any difference in the principles of the two parties, of which one is as radical as the other. Probably Mr. Durant and some others do not take this view of the case, and it has been otherwise represented in some of the newspapers, yet I know what I say, is correct. I enclose Gov. Hahn's inaugural, marking that portion which refers to slavery. The inauguration was a very brilliant and successful affair.

I hoped that all dissensions in the Union party, would be ended with the election, but I now fear that they will continue. I am reluctant to say anything against Mr. Flanders whom I respect for many good qualities, and I do not say anything against him here. But to you I say that I think he confuses his principles with his interests and desire for personal advancement—that he has great zeal but no wisdom—and that while devoted to your interests, he has injured them and will injure them still more. He wastes his force in the indulgence and gratification of private resentments—he greatly overestimates his own personal influence—he makes no friends and alienates many once his friends. I think you overestimate both his ability and influence. It is not true that the extreme radicals all supported Mr. Flanders. I think an equal or greater number went for Hahn. I have continually endeavored to induce Mr. Flanders and his friends to coalesce with the other Union men, and work in harmony with the majority, instead of trying to dictate to

them. If he would do this we could control every political movement in the State, and send to the National convention delegates of our own choice. I hope to succeed but fear not. Such success would be possible if Mr. Flanders could understand what is true, that he is personally unpopular, and therefore every movement inaugurated by him, and in which he is to be leader, will fail.

Mr. Flanders and Mr. Fellows and the political friends of each, met at a dinner yesterday. I am informed on good authority that a coalition was formed between these two defeated factions, with the object of controlling the State Convention and, through the convention, of ousting Gov. Hahn, their successful rival. After this is done, each man is to pitch in for himself. Perhaps these indignant Union men, smarting under the sting of recent defeat, expect to vindicate some noble principle by a combination with copperheads, but I don't see it. To a spectator this looks more toward self-aggrandizement at all hazards--and the gratification of personal resentment. The whole project will fail utterly, as I hope will every compact with these pro-slavery semi-secessionists.

We are forming a Chase Club here and meet for organization next Monday. It will comprize some of the best men of the city of different interests and political affinities. I believe we can control the election of delegates to the National Convention, which we certainly could never do if Plumly and myself had joined ourselves to the Flanders faction. Flanders seems to hate Plumly, and I don't know the reason. Plumly has worked hard for you ever since he has been here, and works hard for you now. His commission has not come, and I sometimes fear you have changed your mind about sending it at all. I can only assure you that it will be very bad policy and unjust to withhold it. It would have been much better to send it at the time first designated. Plumly will undoubtedly be a delegate to the National Convention. He has been very fortunate in his finances lately. Some old stock held by him and regarded as nearly worthless, has risen in value enormously, and brought him nearly Thirty Thousand Dollars. His family have been here this winter and he has lived with some show but not

expensively. He has been economical except on one occasion, when he gave a party which cost nearly a thousand Dollars. He has done much good here, and no man in the Dep't. has more friends. I make these statements because I do not know what representations may be prompted by Mr. Flanders' hostility to him.

Gen. Banks is doing nothing to further Mr. Lincoln's renomination. He tells me he is not and I believe him. This is all that we can ask of him, for if he should do anything against Mr. L.'s renomination, his head would be taken off without delay.

Mr. Whitlaw Read, who is to be Editor of the N. O. Times, has not yet arrived. I am sorry, for we need him very much. Hahn's paper, the "True Delta," is out for Lincoln, as I supposed it would be.

I see that many Northern papers misconstrue the order which Gen. Banks issued, about people taking the oath and voting at the recent election. This general order was intended to advise and not to compel. No one here supposed or imagined that registration and voting was compulsory, and people voted or did not vote, according to their inclinations.

If not asking too much, I wish you would write me a short letter. I always like to know if my course is approved by you—if not approved, I wish to know it, so that I may do better.

A great military movement up Red River has commenced. The enemy are in large force at Shreveport, where there probably will be a battle. Gen. Banks leaves in three or four days.

NEW ORLEANS, *April 1st, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: I have rec'd. your recent letter with much gratification. I feared that you would be displeased at the course which I could not avoid taking, especially as I have not been without misgivings as to its propriety.

The election for Delegates to the State Convention passed off quietly, and the same party succeeded as before. I regret to say that the character, ability and standing of the Delegates, is not such as could be wished. There are a few

excellent men elected, like Judge Durell, Judge Howell, Dr. Bonzano, and Mr. Brott—but the majority of them are of little account. This time I worked to the best of my ability with Mr. Flanders and his friends, being no longer under any obligation to Gen. Banks. It was of no use however. The combination of patronage and influence was too strong to allow us any chance of success.

I have been sick with an intermittent fever and do not succeed in getting entirely well. It may be necessary to go North for a short time, but I shall not leave here if business will suffer by my absence.

From something Plumly said a day or two ago, I concluded he had written you that I was sick, and that the sickness was aggravated by anxieties on account of differences with Mr. Flanders. If such a statement has been made, I wish you to understand that it is without foundation. I have not had, and shall not have any difficulty or difference with Mr. Flanders or any other official. If I spent time in the indulgence of personal feuds, I should cease to be fit for the official position to which you have assigned me. In this matter please accept only the statement of Mr. Flanders, or of myself.

The army is moving up Red River, and is successful. There is a good deal of trouble, I think, up there, between the army and navy, about cotton. Gen. Banks is non-communicative as to what policy is to be adopted and there is much confusion and dissatisfaction among those engaged in Trade, but I believe no blame is attached to the officers of the Treasury Dept.

The 1st. Nat. Bank is proving a splendid success, and its prospects improve every day. Mr. Graham is entitled to much credit for this, for I do not know a man of better business ability. We have the bitter hostility of the old Banks which are controlled by Southern sympathizers, but we are gradually gaining on them. Mr. Graham will, I presume, write you more fully about this matter. I do not think there is much prospect that the Convention will extend the elective franchise to free persons of color. If it is not done, the responsibility should rest on Gen. Banks, for the Convention is composed mostly of persons who would

do whatever he should request. The subject will be agitated thoroughly and we shall do what we can for the interest of colored citizens.

NEW YORK, *May 1st, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: I did not sail on Saturday as the Steamship "Evening Star" was detained until Wednesday (to-morrow). I start for New Orleans therefore, to-morrow.

The Louisiana Delegation to the Baltimore Convention arrived here yesterday. They are unanimous for Lincoln, under instructions from the State Convention which elected them.

From other friends who have arrived here, I learn that there is great indignation against Waples, the Dist. Attorney, who seizes all cotton arriving under permits—that business is almost at a stand-still—that Mr. Flanders has not resigned from the Bank—that he has become exceedingly unpopular with all classes, even more unpopular than when I left, and that he is believed to favor the policy of the Dist. Attorney—and some say that public opinion begins to reflect on the Secretary of the Treasury for keeping Mr. Flanders in office. On all these points I shall write fully as soon as I have been long enough in New Orleans to get accurate information. If by any possibility Mr. F. should not retain his present position, I wish now to suggest Dr. Price as his successor, who is efficient, honest, and popular.

I regret the detention of the Steamer as it causes me to lose four days. I shall write to you as soon as I reach New Orleans.

P. S. Among the Delegation are Bullitt, Dr. Bonzano, Plumly, and Mr. Weed who is a particular friend of Gen. Butler.

G. S. D.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 10th, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: I take pleasure in introducing to you Judge John Hancock of Texas, whom I have known for many years. He is and has always been, one of the unflinching Union men of Texas, and is one of the leading men of that State.

I do not know of any Texan more able and better qualified to serve the Gov't. I hope you will assist him in securing the object of his visit to Washington, should such assistance be necessary, but in any event, you will be gratified with the opportunity of forming his acquaintance.

In the future (and I hope *immediate*) operations in Texas, Judge H. will be needed by the Gov't.

NEW ORLEANS, *June 17th, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: I arrived here on the 8th. inst. but delayed writing until I had become familiar with the present condition of affairs.

About military matters there is little to say. The Army, or a large portion of it, is at Morganza below the mouth of Red River. What movement is contemplated, or whether any movement is intended, I am unable to say.

Gen. Canby is here it is said to be reorganizing all the troops under his command. Much gratification is felt by all disinterested Union men at the change in Commanders, and in fact any change would have been a relief and improvement. I have heard that Gen. Canby intends to change all the leading military officials in the Dep't., including the Provost Marshal, Gen. Bowen. Such a proceeding will promote the interests of the Gov't. and of this whole community. Gen. Canby is not much known here as yet, and public opinion regarding him is in suspense.

Gen. Banks is here but seems to have little to do. He is very unpopular, especially with the army who attribute to him alone the miserable failure on Red River. I have learned much about that expedition from officers engaged, and every statement shows that Gen. Banks only is responsible for the defeat. An attempt has been made to cast the blame on subordinate Generals, but without success, for they only obeyed the orders issued by the Comd'g General. The army would have done better without any Commanding General at all. As near as I can ascertain, our total loss in the expedition in killed, wounded and prisoners, was about 7,000 men—beside the material and guns. The sooner Gen. Banks goes home, the better will it be for the

service. The Army will not serve under him and he has lost the respect of the Public.

In public estimation, Gen. Banks' State Convention stands no higher than Banks himself. "What fools they are making of themselves"—is a very common remark even among those who helped to elect them. They voted themselves \$10 per diem compensation to each member, and the State funds being nearly all expended, their labors will soon close. The few intelligent men among the members are entirely lost sight of, in the great mass of inexperience and vulgar ignorance. A portion of their time has been occupied in regulating the pay of the police of New Orleans—an unusual business for a State Constitutional Convention. Prejudice against the colored people is exhibited continually—prejudice bitter and vulgar. Some would have all negroes prohibited from learning a profession or mechanical trade, but a resolution to this effect was laid on the table, such precaution being thought unnecessary. The whole policy respecting the colored people is ungenerous and unjust. The attempt to induce such a Convention to grant to colored men limited right of suffrage, or any other right—would be futile.

If the men, or man, who controlled the election of this Convention had been actuated by principle, honesty and fairness, the state of things would be different. But organization was created for selfish and dishonest political purposes and the result is what might reasonably be expected, when intrigue and humbug are substituted for better methods.

Probably never before has there been held a State Constitutional Convention, which has been regarded with contempt by nine tenths of the people for whom they framed a Constitution. This however, is the case here at the present time, and it seems to me the result must be bad.

I find that the public interests did not suffer by my absence. Business was very limited and will continue so until September or October. The health of the City is good and there are no signs of yellow fever.

In my letter to you written at New York, I repeated statements concerning Mr. Flanders' unpopularity, made to

me by persons just arrived from New Orleans. I do not think those statements were exaggerated, but this is not a pleasant subject and I will reserve its discussion for my next letter.

I do not see here any marked manifestations of secession sympathy, nor are the Union men demonstrative. All eyes are turned to Richmond and Atlanta, and there seems to be a settled belief that the decisive struggle is now progressing.

In my next I shall speak of the Supervising Sp. Agency—the policy as to trade and plantations. Enclosed is an important circular, or General Order, issued by Admiral Porter, May 31st. Mr. Tucker goes home by to-morrow's Steamer.

JULY 1st, 1864.

MY DEAR SIR: Very little has transpired here worthy of your attention, since my last letter was written. All the horses in the city, or nearly all, have been seized, for the purpose, as I suppose, of mounting two regiments of Texas cavalry which have been ordered here from Brownsville. I understand that the whole cavalry force is concentrated at Baton Rouge, and other signs indicate that active operations are about to commence. Gen. Canby has charge of everything and Banks seems to be ignored. In fact I think Gen. Canby has seriously rebuked him by assigning to important commands the generals whom Banks had relieved for the purpose of casting on them the odium of the Red River disaster. The accompanying order recently issued, indicates a severer policy than has been pursued here during the past year.

NOTICE.

HEADQUARTERS PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL,
DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,
New Orleans, June 23, 1864.

SPECIAL ORDERS, }
No. 48.

By direction of the Major General commanding all registered enemies of the United States will immediately report themselves to Major H. M. Porter, Provost Marshal of the Parish of Orleans, at his office No. 67 Carondelet street, for transportation beyond the military lines.

T. E. CHICKERING,
*Colonel and Ass't. Provost Marshal General,
Department of the Gulf.*

This second order, attached hereto, relating to gold, was issued by Gen. Banks without my previous knowledge. Though not entirely perfect, I regard the order as a good one.

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT OF THE GULF,

New Orleans, June 18, 1864.

GENERAL ORDERS,)
No. 75.)

I. All shipments of gold to the port of New Orleans from this date, unless otherwise specially authorized by the Government at Washington, will be deposited with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, to be delivered to consignees or claimants only upon satisfactory assurances that it will not be used in contravention of the regulations of the Treasury and War Departments or the laws of the United States.

II. All parties to whom consignments of gold have heretofore been made, are directed to deposit the same with the Assistant Treasurer of the United States, subject to the above Regulations. The Provost Marshal General is directed to enforce a strict observance of this order.

By command of Major Gen. Banks,

OLIVER MATHEWS, *A. A. General.*

Two and a half millions in gold has come here within a few months, and there was no way to stop it. If you will look at the President's proclamation opening this port, you will see that he declares the Port of New Orleans no longer an insurrectionary District, and hence the regulations prohibiting the shipments of gold to such Districts did not apply to this city. When once here the gold could be smuggled out of the city to points whence it would find its way into the Confederacy. About \$300,000 not yet landed from steamship, went back to New York and more will go.

The Bank continues prosperous as you will see by the Quarterly report published this morning, which I enclose. Mr. Flanders has not resigned the Presidency but will not be permitted to hold it much longer, unless he ceases to be Sup. Sp. Agent.

Mr. Gray, Deputy Collector, will go North next week on short leave of absence. At my request he will go to Washington and call upon you. He is an intelligent and thoroughly honest man, and well informed concerning everything here. I suggest that by making inquiries of him, you will receive the latest reliable information that you can obtain. He possesses judgment and discretion and will state his own opinions.

I really hope you will send Mr. Howe here in September

to be Sup. Sp. Agent. The change would be hailed with joy by the whole business community. He can stay in the Bank if informed now that such a change is contemplated. Mr. Flanders according to his own statement, thinks he has left the whole matter to your discretion.

If, however, Col. Howe should not come, I urge that a new Supt. of Plantations be appointed *by yourself* at once. If Flanders has the appointment the present arrangement will be virtually unchanged. Please consider this recommendation about Supt. of Plantations, emphatic. I told you that Flanders controls him. Virtually he controls Flanders, and I have said enough when I say that his successor should be at once appointed by you, unless Howe comes here. Please remember that I have known Cozzens many years.

P. S. I have written the foregoing solely for your information. Whether you act upon it or not, please consider it confidential. My friend Mr. Hutchins is Cozzens' father-in-law, nor do I wish any diminution of our mutual good feeling. In this instance however, I have seen what influence and force family ties can have.

G. S. D.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 26th, 1864.*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE: Your very acceptable letter of the 11th inst. came to hand yesterday. Your resignation was known to me previously, and I had guessed at the causes with considerable accuracy—but whatever were your reasons I knew they were good and sufficient as they prove to be. Great regret is felt among your friends here, who, I can assure you, are many.

I do not see how you could have acted otherwise-- and yet cannot help regarding the event with real sorrow. You have constantly been so kind to me, and have done me so great benefit, that I shall never be able to repay the obligation.

I have written you with considerable regularity during the past two years, and endeavored to keep you informed of events in the Department of the Gulf. It will be a privi-

lege to me to continue the correspondence, and, with your permission, I will write to you as heretofore.

I do not know whether I shall be retained as Collector, or dismissed. I have not asked any favor of Mr. Lincoln and shall not—nor shall I do anything which may prevent my following your lead in whatever course you may pursue in regard to politics and candidates.

NEW ORLEANS, *July 26th, 1864.*

DEAR SIR: The State Convention has adjourned at last, having completed their labors and the new constitution. The President of the Convention, however, is authorized to call them together again, in case their action be not ratified by the people. This course seems to me quite singular, and betrays a fear that the new Constitution will not be accepted next September, when it is expected the people will vote on it. I have already given you my opinions concerning this convention which remain unchanged. I think there is great danger that the constitution will not be ratified, although it is a very good one; but there really is so little merit and respectability among the members of the convention, that the public will be likely to regard with contempt whatever may be done by them.

Two or three days before the adjournment, there was a good deal of excitement arising out of an article published in the New Orleans Times. I am assured that the statements in that article are substantially true, but the Convention couldn't stand it—tried to arrest Mr. May and failed—induced Gen. Banks to arrest him by his Provost Marshal, who brought him before the Convention, where he was tried and sentenced to ten days imprisonment. Gen. Canby made Gen. Banks issue an order for his immediate release, so that Mr. May never went to prison. In public estimation, both the Convention and Gen. Banks have done themselves injury, while Mr. May is not injured at all. I enclose the article published in the *Times*, and also brief reports of the proceedings of the Convention during the two following days. An effort will be made to have May removed from the office of Assistant Treasurer—an effort which I hope

will be unsuccessful. If you can conveniently do anything to prevent it, I hope you will. Mr. May's place cannot be properly filled by anybody else here. You see that he was accused of being a *Chase* man, &c., in the Convention.

No military movements are being made in this Department. The departure of the 19th. Armp Corps for the North indicates that no offensive operations will be undertaken here this summer. I believe, however, that the Rebels do not intend to be idle, but will soon undertake raids through the whole country west of the Mississippi. Gen. Canby is prepared for them. Canby is becoming popular—more perhaps because he snubs Banks, or seems to snub him—than for any other reason. He attends to his own business and is much respected. Hahn leaves to-day for the North with Gen. Sickles. I do not know what he goes for, but probably it is for something connected with the State Government here.

NEW ORLEANS, *September 6th, 1864.*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE: By the last mail I received your letter of August 15th. from Litchfield. I have not written you for some time, not knowing where to address my letters. The receipt of a letter from you always gives me great pleasure—of this letter especially, wherein you speak in terms of affectionate remembrance of my father, and in terms of approval of myself.

Soon after the adjournment of the State Convention, preparations for the ratification of Constitution and election of Congressmen commenced. The whole proceeding was managed in the same way as, under Banks' direction, the preceding election had been conducted. A good deal of money was spent (I don't know where it came from) the Ward Union leagues were manipulated—frequent meetings with public speaking were held—Quartermaster's employes and all other Gov't. employes were called out—and finally there was a grand torch-light procession. The result was just what might have been expected, the whole power being in military hands. The election occurred yesterday, and resulted in the ratification of the Constitution by a vote

almost unanimous. The whole vote is about thirty per cent. smaller than when Hahn was elected, judging by the returns which have already come in. A. P. Field (who went to Washington with Cottman), Dr. Bonzano,—Wells, and one other person, whose name I forget, were elected to Congress. About a week before the election Banks came to my office and showed me a letter from Mr. Lincoln, requesting me to show it to Mr. May and Mr. Flanders, which request I complied with. Hahn went to Washington and probably brought the letter back with him. I enclose a copy marked A.—with the request, however, that you will not make use of it unless it will help you in some way. Mr. May, Mr. Flanders and myself had previously made up our minds to vote for ratification, on the ground that the defeat of the Constitution would be regarded as a victory for the Copperheads—while the proper place to decide on the admission of the State, is in Congress. Mr. May's paper had been silent, however, and he intended it should remain so. Determined not to allow Hahn and Banks to defeat him and throw him out of office, he felt constrained, after reading Lincoln's letter, to come out in two articles, advocating the adoption of the constitution. I must say he did it very mildly—so mildly that some of the City papers accused him of insincerity. The fact is, this whole civil reorganization in Louisiana is a cheat and a swindle and everybody knows it. Certainly no good can come from an undertaking of this kind, conducted in the manner this has been, however disguised by professions of patriotism or pleas of necessity and expediency. I shall always think and know there are good grounds of suspicion, whenever any movement is on foot and Gen. N. P. Banks has a finger in the pie. "I fear the Greeks and all the gifts they bring."

I know that Banks is low in reputation at the North, but he is worse off here. A new project however has been started, for restoring him to somewhat of his former good standing. It is the intention of himself and friends to make him U. S. Senator from Louisiana, which will give him a secure berth for six years, whereby perhaps he can recuperate somewhat. This is the plan I say, at present, and it will probably be successfully carried out. It is reported by

Banks himself, that he will go North about the 15th. inst. It is expected, however, that he will return in time to assist in executing the little programme above mentioned. If he tries it, he may be sure of having a bitter and public opponent in Mr. May, who, desiring no office himself, is entirely fearless, and fully appreciates Banks' characteristics.

I enclose a printed slip—being a letter to the President from Mr. Day and Mr. Fellows. Day is a Union man holding about the same opinions as Mr. Durant, while Fellows is in some degree a copperhead. Both however are much respected here.

• Military affairs in this Dep't. have assumed a very different appearance since Gen. Canby took command. The brilliant success at Forts Gaines and Morgan, was due mostly to the able supervision of Gen. Canby. In fact Gen. Banks did not know where the expedition had gone, until news came back of Farragut's victory. The Ram "Tennessee", captured by Farragut, is lying in the River, opposite the City, having come around from Mobile Bay without difficulty, although the sea was exceedingly rough. By permission of the Commadore, I went on board and examined her. She surpassed all my expectations and is much stronger than represented in any published accounts I have seen. I have seen our Iron Clad River Steamers and have seen the monitors, but think the "Tennessee" stronger and more efficient than any of them. She is built entirely new, being two years in building, and the whole Southern Confederacy was searched through for materials. Her capture was a wonderful victory.

News has reached us of the nomination of McClellan at Chicago, and it seems to be the general impression here that he stands great chance of success. I watch with great interest for the appearance of some third nominee, who shall concentrate and command the loyal intelligence of the country. Otherwise it is impossible to predict what is to become of both country and cause.

My Mr. Gray has gone home sick and worn out and I have much work to do. Mr. Flanders is more unpopular than ever, and I think the outcry against him will necessitate his withdrawal or removal.

[COPY.]

EXECUTIVE MANSION,

Washington, August 9, 1864.

Major General Banks:

I have just seen the new Constitution adopted by the Convention of Louisiana and I am anxious that it shall be ratified by the people. I will thank you to let the civil officers in Louisiana, holding under me, know that this is my wish, and to let me know at once who of them openly declares for the Constitution, and who of them, if any, decline to so declare.

Yours truly,

(Signed)

A. LINCOLN.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 8th, 1864.*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE: Of military news from this Depart. I have little to give you. Quite a large number of troops were sent, about two weeks ago, from here to Missouri or Arkansas, to meet the expected invasion there, and have not yet returned.

From the best information I can gather, I judge that Mobile is to be attacked within sixty days. It was the intention to start an expedition overland for Mobile, about two weeks from today, but perhaps the troubles in Missouri may delay it.

Plumly is here and is Chairman of the Board of Education for Freedmen established under order from Banks. This Board is doing much for the education of colored children and adults throughout the Dept. Plumly seems to attend to his business and I think is doing much good. I am very sorry he wrote you that letter, about which I knew nothing until long after my return from the North. I attribute it to the influence of Banks, for I observed that after being with Banks a good deal, he was inclined to speak unkindly of you. At any rate, I thought I observed this, and could not account for it except by supposing that Banks did not desire him to resume relations with you. Plumly is wholly, completely—thoroughly devoted to Banks—his enthusiastic admirer and his—obedient Servant.

I am sorry you interposed to save Mr. Flanders, as, from your letter, I judge was the fact. I am satisfied his continuance in office prejudices “instead of promoting, the public interests.”

All that is disagreeable and unsatisfactory in him, becomes more intense, manifest and prominent every day. I do not think he has a friend among the business men of this City or Country. His manners are considered rude and insulting, and he seems to have no regard for private interests or personal rights. He has driven out each of his principal assistants, beginning with Plumly and Price, and ending with Mr. Hutchins, who resigned last week, saying that he could stand it no longer, and that Flanders was the first man with and for whom it was impossible for him to do business in some way or other. Mr. Breckenridge is now his chief man, but there is certain to be a row before long. I am sorry Mr. Hutchins left the office, for he was kind and polite, and people used to like to go to him even when he had to refuse their requests. Is it for the interest of the Government to keep in office one who has no practical knowledge of business, and who makes no friends, but continually makes enemies to the Gov't? It has been growing and it is now growing worse every day, as his unpopularity reveals itself and his feelings become embittered. His very integrity is offensive, because offensively displayed. What possible gain is it to the Gov't to impose such an infliction on this people? A more thoroughly disgusted people I never saw. Mr. Hutchins says that he thinks Flanders is sometimes somewhat crazy—I don't know—but I think the people who do business with him will be very apt to become so.

I hear frequently from the Confederacy, and my intelligence is reliable. The people are very greatly depressed and discouraged—and the intelligent leaders acknowledge that the Southern Confederacy is *played out*. They testify to their faith by their works, for they are all speculating and plundering the people at every opportunity, that they may acquire money and send it to Europe, where, at last they expect to retire. Magruder, in Texas, made a large fortune, but the interesting Jew whom he employed as agent, died one fine day, and shortly after his wife, in answer to Gen. Magruder's anxious inquiries, informed him that there was nothing to his credit on her husband's books. She went to Europe and Magruder is a wiser and better South Carolinian.

If with great damage to Lee's Army, Grant takes Richmond, I should not be astonished to see the Confederacy collapse any day thereafter.

If Banks had succeeded, as with his ample means he ought, the Southern Confederacy would soon cease to exist. I hope you will write to me when convenient, for a letter from you gives me very great satisfaction, and pleasure.

NEW ORLEANS, *October 8, 1864.*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE: Your welcome letter of Sept. 20th, from Washington, reached me this morning. I was surprised that you had not seen the new Constitution of this State, for it was published many times in some of the papers of this City. Enclosed is an official copy, which I have taken out of the "Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention". I will send you the entire volume, if you desire it.

Please notice the two *titles* which I have marked—The first is Concerning *Emancipation*, and seems to me quite complete.

The second is Articles 14 and 15 (on page 3) of Title III, wherein are stated the conditions of suffrage. Article 15 was very difficult to get through the Convention. You perceive that it gives power to the Legislature "to pass laws extending suffrage to such other persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the Gov't, or by intellectual fitness, may be deemed entitled thereto." I suppose colored persons would be regarded as citizens, for the purpose above indicated.

To do more than this would have been an exercise of more justice, generosity and magnanimity than was possessed by the Convention. And yet I think this is a great deal. Equal suffrage can now be extended to the black man, whenever public opinion justifies it. There will be a continual opportunity to effect this progress. It seems to me that Constitution and laws are without good effect, unless sustained by an enlightened public opinion—and any law giving suffrage to negroes, could not be so sustained at present, in any State County or Town throughout the whole South.

I do not think you appreciate or understand the intense antipathy with which Southerners regard negroes. It is the natural antipathy of races, developed and intensified by the servile, brutal condition of one—the insolent despotic position of the other. We used to hear much of the patriarchal character of the institution—of the fond attachment of the faithful slave—of the paternal and affectionate care of the kind master—and Southerners used to profess a liking for the negro, never exhibited in the North. This was all gammon. They liked the negro as I like my horse—a convenient beast of burden for my use and pleasure. But that a negro should have a voice or influence in Government, or any rights which a white man is bound to respect—this is intolerable.

During this war and since I have been in New Orleans, I have learned a great many things, and among them is what I have just been saying. It will not yet do to extend suffrage to negroes, for if you do, you will lose all white support, or almost all. Public opinion must be educated, and that will take some time. Already during the last two years, I perceive great progress here, and it will undoubtedly be the same elsewhere. The work will continually grow easier, as the whites accustom themselves to their new relation towards the blacks, and as the blacks themselves become educated and intelligent.

The objections at present against negro suffrage are two—viz;

It makes the right of suffrage so common and cheap, that it is degraded and not worth having, for the negroes generally have, by no means, sufficient intelligence.

It renders the poor whites, and all other whites, permanently and bitterly hostile, so that they cannot be made friends to the Gov't, but will really fight till no men are left. I think Kirke mentions this in his book—"Down in Tennessee".

I cannot help thinking therefore that Article 15, Title III, is a great step in the right direction. I voted for the Constitution, and did all I could for it, for I regarded its defeat as a triumph to the Copperheads. Yet I wish it had been framed by a better class of men, who would have

commanded the respect of the people of the whole state. It would have been so, if there had been so much management.

I agree with you entirely as to the necessity of Mr. Lincoln's re-election, and within my limited sphere and to the utmost of my small abilities, am doing all I can to secure that end. I have raised \$1500 for the Union Congressional Committee at Washington and hope to obtain as much more for them.

NEW ORLEANS, *November 25, 1864.*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE: Your welcome letter of the 11th inst. from Cincinnati, is received—I have time to reply to only a portion of it now.

Enclosed I send back the draft of your letter to Gen. Banks—as you request. Banks' statement in his letter to Senator Lane, that “the principal officer of the Treasury in New Orleans held a commission in the Rebel Army”, refers to Mr. May, but is entirely incorrect. Mr. May never held a commission in the Rebel Army nor any commission of any kind under the Rebel Gov't.

I escaped from the South in the Spring of 1862, just as the Conscription Act was being enforced. At that time Mr. May was on his plantation. All outlet was difficult and Mr. May by force of circumstances was compelled to serve as private in a Cavalry company, which was sent to Northern Mississippi. Mr. M. was at that time 19 or 20 years old and was in service a little more than four weeks but never in any engagement. As soon as he learned of the capture of New Orleans, he escaped to the Mississippi River, got possession of a skiff, in which he came down the River seven or eight hundred miles to New Orleans, and was here in time to give the first public greeting to Gen. Butler, by a dinner given to the General by himself and Judge Whitaker. Immediately thereafter he hired at fair wages his slaves, being the first man in Louisiana to adopt a system of free, paid, voluntary labor with negroes.

If any man can see anything in this record to be ashamed of, he is either ignorant of circumstances surrounding any

young man in Louisiana at that terrible time, or possesses a judgment more exacting than reasonable. Everybody knows that Mr. May was always an out spoken Union man—If he had been less outspoken, he might not have been compelled into the army. As it was it cost him \$15,000 to stay out as long as he did, and to get out when once in. I have these statements from Mr. May himself and from others also.

I think your letter to Gen. Banks is just and correct.

I did not intend that what I wrote you about Mr. Flanders should go to the Secretary, but I have nothing to retract.

I repeat also what I said about the clause of the Constitution—authorizing the Legislature to confer suffrage on colored men. It is not all perhaps that could be wished, and yet it is more than reasonably could have been expected. At first the majority against this clause, in the Convention, was overwhelming, and it was only by unremitting efforts by Gov. Hahn, Gen. Banks and others that nearly forty votes were changed whereby this clause, once rejected, was adopted. In this matter Gov. Hahn worked faithfully and well. The result, I think, will be that when the rest of the State comes in, and the opposite party strives to get the power, the present dominant party, through the Legislature, will immediately confer suffrage on all colored men, so that by their assistance they may retain control of public affairs.

When I first saw you in Washington in '62, you expressed the opinion that slavery should everywhere be abolished as a means of finishing the war. I then thought this unwise, but it has been done. I had changed my opinion however, long before it was done. I do not see that you change your opinions at all, but mine change almost with every increase of knowledge and I come round to your platform at last. Perhaps, therefore, you are more nearly right than I am, about the expediency of unlimited colored suffrage. I see that public opinion is growing in favor of it. But I cannot yet give up the opinions on this subject expressed in my last letter.

Since the receipt of your letter full and complete returns of the election and of Mr. Lincoln's triumphant re-election, have reached us. I should have despaired of the Country and its liberties, if McClellan, that weak tool of wicked

men, had been the successful candidate. It seems to me that the hand of Providence is plainly visible in all the great events of this war, nor will he permit its prosecution to cease until great and good principles are firmly established. Defeat at the first battle of Bull's Run then seemed a great calamity, but now we see that Victory instead would have been a greater calamity.

The election of Mr. Lincoln seems to me another link in the chain, and is part of God's plan in working out great and good results.

Indeed, I hope the Chief Justiceship will be offered you. It does seem to me that above all other men, you are entitled to it. But I have no means of judging what Mr. Lincoln will do.

I shall write to you as often as I can and, as you request tell you about leading men here.

The Senators elected by the Legislature are R. King Cutler, and ——— Smith. R. King Cutler is not a good and not an able man, but in my opinion, an unprincipled demagogue. Very disreputable things are said of him, as to his career before coming to Louisiana, and I have seen what purports to be certified copies of a Criminal Court in Illinois or Indiana, in which the name R. K. Cutler is repeated pretty often. In secession time he organized and was Captain of a Confederate Company called the King Cutler Guards. He was elected Senator for the unexpired term of Slidell, but it is now said that Slidell's term expired in '61. Ignorance of this fact, if it be a fact, is not very creditable to the Legislature. I do not know therefore whether Cutler will go to Washington, or whether the Legislature will elect another Senator. They will not, I think, re-elect Mr. Cutler.

Gov. Hahn intended that Judge Durell and another person (Bullitt) should be elected Senators, but the Legislature took the bit in their teeth, and refusing to mind the reins, elected Cutler and Smith. I do not know much about Smith, but guess he does not amount to much. I believe him to be a man of pretty good common sense—no experience—no much education—and I never heard anything against him.

One of the Representatives elect is Judge A. P. Field.

He was in Washington with Dr. Cottman; as you will remember Field is a pretty good speaker, and the ablest man in the whole delegation. He is not very radical, but judging by his speeches, he will do well enough. He has more experience than any of the others and is a fair lawyer.

Dr. Bonzano is another representative, and as you know, is a pure man, of great learning—with little experience in public affairs. He is thoroughly radical and would sooner give up his life than his principles. The other representative I do know, but will write more about this in my next letter.

I shall write you frequently in compliance with the wish expressed by you.

A friend of mine told me that Mr. Fessenden expressed one objection to me, which was that I had written you declining to act as Asst. Treasurer, because I could not give the bond for \$100,000.

I declined to act as Asst. Treasurer for two reasons. 1st. I would not take that office unless I could give my personal attention to it. I was already over-worked and it was expected to perform the duties of Asst. Treasurer in addition to all my other official duties. This without salary. 2d. I had already given various bonds amounting to nearly two hundred thousand (\$200,000) dollars. This was a good deal for me, comparatively a stranger and without property, to do, considering the distrustful and disturbed condition of things here at that time, and to give bonds for that amount was as difficult as for five times that amount in New York. If I told you I could not give additional bonds, I meant by that, that I could not *with propriety* (and therefore, would not) ask business men to become my securities for any additional amounts. If I had disregarded such propriety, I could have given the bond without much trouble. Will you do me the favor to mention this matter to the Secretary?

I believe that Sherman is on the way to Apalachicola, or Pensacola, Florida—probably the former place. I see that preparations are being made for an immense number of troops in this Department and from some signs about the Ordinance Offices. I should judge that a large number of new troops are to be armed. As there are no new troops

here, or likely to come here, I conclude that a great number of negroes are to be collected and armed. I judge the war is to become more bitter and severe—and am glad of it, for sharp severity is really the most efficient as well as most merciful policy.

This letter is long and should have been short, and is much more hastily written than letters to you ought to be.

P. S. Please regard what I say of prominent men here, as entirely confidential. I do not object, however, to Mr. Fessenden seeing what I may write, on the same condition.

NEW ORLEANS, *Jan. 13, 1865.*

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your letter of the 27th Dec. What you say of colored suffrage is doubtless correct, but it is difficult if not impossible, to make these new Free State men, who compose our Legislature, take the same view of it as you do. Of this matter I have fully spoken in previous letters. Without being here you cannot easily understand how much these people have learned in regard to the colored man and his rights and how much they have yet to learn.

When Gen. Banks expressed himself to you as “decidedly in favor of the liberal extension of the right of suffrage to colored citizens”—he was doubtless sincere, but even he cannot soon remove the prejudices which the poor whites of the South have been acquiring during their whole lives. Only some strong political necessity will induce the Legislature to *extend* the right of suffrage, and if such extension was made a condition of the recognition of the State, it would probably be granted.

The inexpedient secession from the Free State Movement, of Mr. Durant and his party, was very unfortunate. I thought then and I think now, that they should join with the others and control events as much as possible. But now instead of being able to do anything of consequence to the colored race, they have no voice.

I admire Mr. Durant and am sorry he is such a good hater. In speaking in a former letter, of Judge Whitaker

as the only good man to be U. S. Judge, I did not think of Mr. Durant. As you know them both however, it is not necessary for me to say more.

Gov. Hahn was elected last Monday, Senator for the term of six years from the 4th of next March,—as I said he would be.

I learned from private sources—although it is not yet publicly known that he has nominated for Chief Justice of the State, Judge Whitaker, and for Associate Justices; Heistand, Ilsley and one other. I know only Whitaker and Heistand—the others are from the country and have been confirmed by the Senate—but Whitaker and Heistand have not yet been confirmed. I think they will be however, although the Legislature pretend to have fears of their soundness on the Slavery Question. The real reason of their hesitation is, that they wish to give these appointments into the hands of Gov. Wells when he comes into office, for they perceive that there is a new power to dispense patronage which they desire to propitiate.

NEW ORLEANS, *Mar. 21, 1865.*

MY DEAR SIR: A change has been made among our City Officials, which may prove of importance in the politics of this State. Mayor Hoyt, an appointee and friend of Gen. Banks and Gov. Hahn has been removed by Gov. Wells, and in his place Dr. Hugh Kennedy has been appointed, and entered today upon the duties of his office. I think this has been done with the approval of Gen. Hurlburt, who is glad to put out of the way any of Banks's friends.

The alleged reason for the change is that the office should properly be held only by an old citizen, while the real reason is probably quite different.

The Mayor of New Orleans, through the Police and other agencies, is able almost completely to control City elections, and controlling the City, thereby controls the State. Gov. Wells evidently intends the management of these matters shall be in his own hands and therefore he throws overboard his former friends, to whom he is indebted for his present position, but who are more the friends of Banks and Hahn than of himself.

You probably know Dr. Kennedy very well. He was formerly Editor and Proprietor of the True Delta Newspaper—a brother-in-law to Bullitt and a man whose proslavery prejudices can never be removed.

It is said that Dr. Cottman is to be Sheriff in place of Mr. Shaw the present incumbent.

Perhaps this has something to do with another matter, which may be of interest to yourself. Dr. Kennedy is President of one of the City Banks, and perhaps his personal interests are involved in the matter I am about to state.

The Free Banking Law of this State was somewhat similar to the present National Banking Law. Several of the City Banks were organized in conformity with its provisions, bonds of the State or of the City of New Orleans, being deposited by them with the State Auditor. At the capture of the City, the State Auditor ran away into the Confederacy, taking all the bonds with him, which may have been sold or disposed of for the benefit of the Rebel State Gov't, or of the Confederacy. The Banks seek the payment of coupons (of these bonds) now due, without presenting coupons or bonds, or even designating them by number or otherwise.

Gen. Hurlburt issued an order to the 1st Nat'l Bank, the fiscal agent of the City, to pay these coupons. The Bank refused and Gen. Hurlburt suspended his order. Subsequently Hurlburt ordered the case tried before Judge Peabody, Judge of the Provisional Court. Peabody decided that the coupons should be paid, and overruled motion for new trial.

Nearly a million of dollars was depending on the issue and perhaps you can judge better about the matter when I tell you that it was commonly understood that the Banks were willing to spend \$50,000, or more, to have the measure carried through.

Mayor Hoyt was opposed bitterly to the payment as decreed because he regarded it as corrupt, unjust and destructive, of the credit of the City of New Orleans. He refused to order the 1st Nat'l Bank to pay the amount, and it was difficult or impossible to enforce Peabody's judgment while Hoyt was Mayor. Kennedy, however, is President of a Bank and probably his views will differ from Hoyt's.

Perhaps I judge harshly of these proceedings, but I cannot help regarding with suspicion everything done by *Hurlburt*.

Enclosed I transmit published statement of the proceedings in the case I have been speaking of, which may be of use to you at some future day, when similar questions arise.

The attack on Mobile is expected to be made every day. The whole Country has been flooded with rains so that it has been almost impossible for the army to move.

Gen. Lew Wallace arrived here about three weeks ago, and went hence to Brownsville and Matamoras. He had a long conference with Confederate Officers—some of whom represented Kirby Smith—in reference to the Surrender to the Gov't of all the Country west of the Mississippi.

They were willing to give up Slavery and submit on condition that the confiscation laws should not be enforced—that Civil Gov't should be restored and the Country not be subject to Martial Law—and that no hindrance should be offered to their going into Mexico—as many as wanted to go—not however as U. S. soldiers or Confederate Soldiers, but every man on his own hook.

Gen. Wallace comes from Gen. Grant to whom he reports officially. After the conference which lasted two days, he left the Rio Grande for Galveston, where he is to meet Kirby Smith in person, and other leaders. I got my information from one who was present at the Conference.

The Western Rebels are utterly disheartened, and entertain the project of a grand filibuster expedition into Northern and Middle Mexico, to clear out Maximilian and annex Northern Mexico to the United States.

These projects appear wild, but nothing is too improbable for those desperate men to undertake.

Gen. Davis (formerly Col. Davis 1st Texas Cavalry) has gone down to the Texas Coast to assist Gen. Wallace in the negotiations.

Nothing is publicly known here of these proceedings, and perhaps they will all end in smoke.

PART V. MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS TO CHASE, 1842-1870.

From James G. Birney.^a

SAGANAW, *Feb. 2/42*

DEAR SIR, I received your letter of the 21. Jan. by the last mail.

A Convention of the Friends of Liberty was held in New York city in May.^b They nominated me as their Presidential Candidate for 1844; appointed a Committee to inform me of it and receive my answer to the proposition. The Committee accordingly addressed me a note, to which I replied on the 10. ultimo. My reply was sent to Mr. Leavitt who acknowledged the receipt of it on the 18.—saying, too, that he should lose no time in making it public—which, I presume, has been done in the *Emancipator*. You will there see that I consent to the use of my name, with the understanding, however, that I would cheerfully acquiesce in the substitution of another, whenever one should be found that would be more serviceable. I intended by this, that the nomination already made should not, so far as I was concerned, be a moment in the way of any other nomination which a *second* national Convention, called together on sufficient notice, and more fully representing the body of the abolitionists, might think it best for the cause to make. Without entering into particulars, I trust you will find this a satisfactory answer to the main inquiry in your letter.

The Columbus Convention^c I look upon as you do—as an

^a 1792-1857.

^b For this Convention which met May 12, 1841, see T. C. Smith: *Liberty and Free Soil Parties in the Northwest*, 53.

^c For this convention, which met in Columbus, Ohio, December 29, 1841, see Schuckers's *Chase*, 47 ff.

interesting occasion,—an important fact in the history of the A. S. movement. Yet, in no A. S. Convention that I remember, has the opposition to slavery been considered so much as a matter of money-policy—so little as a matter of religious duty as it was in this. Whilst the money-policy may be made to follow as close as is possible on religious duty, the latter in my opinion ought always to be allowed the precedence.

I regretted, too, that any pledge, or appearance of a pledge was made of non-interference with the delivering up of fugitive Slaves. Few things have contributed more, to keep alive the spirit of the abolitionists than the rescuing of slaves, and *interfering* with that infamous and bloody stipulation of the Constitution. Whatever pledges of non-interference may be given they will be disregarded—at least so long as our body has any life or humanity in it, or any greater fear of God than of man. It would have been better to have said nothing about it in the address—unless the opposite ground had been taken.

It seems strange to me that any abolitionist conversant with our cause could have thought, at this stage of it, of going out of our own ranks for candidates for any office. Out of our ranks, all public men are of the Whig or Democratic party. How can they be abolitionists? This was tried at the beginning of the *political* movement of the abolitionists, and always failed bringing with it great injury.

Of Governor Seward I have strong hopes. Highly do I honor him for his elevated and consistent course in the Virginia and Georgia^a controversies. Earnestly do I desire to see him enjoying the honor of being an abolitionist in *name* as I trust he is one in judgment and feeling. But till he does this, it would be gross disparagement of our cause to nominate him for any station.

That Mr. Adams should be thought of as an abolition candidate is still more strange. Mr. A. in his anti-abolition zeal, looks on the doctrine of immediate emancipation, as held by our friends, as ridiculous; nor does he hesitate to present it to the public in biting terms of sarcasm and irony. (*see a letter of Mr. A. in Nat. Int. May, 28, 1839.*) Mr. A.

^a See Bancroft's Seward, I, 101-107.

is opposed to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; to its abolition in Florida, to the rejection of Florida in any application she may make for admission into the Union as a *slave* state; in fine, so far as I can now remember Mr. A. is opposed to almost everything that is peculiar to abolitionists. All the while, too, he has been writing to known abolitionists letters abounding in expressions of encouragement and sympathy,—the tenor of which would, perhaps, be contradicted by the next news from Washington, shewing that Mr. A. had taken *special* occasion to let the whole world know, that whilst he was greatly opposed to slavery in general, he was, at the same time, opposed to the *particular modes* of attacking it which the abolitionists were prosecuting as the most effective.

The truth is, my dear sir after rendering to Mr. A. our thanks, and in these times they ought to be our heartiest thanks—for his unwavering valor in defending the *right of petition*—a right which by the way, has no really stricter connexion with the A. S. interest than with any other of the country; for his opposition to Texas annexation and for the assistance he gave Mr. Baldwin^a in the Amistad Case, I am unable to perceive on what ground *abolitionists* are indebted to Mr. A.—or to pronounce that he has on the whole done more to promote than to retard the A. S. cause. When I take up Mr. A.'s letters to Mr. Edmund Quincy, of Boston (July 28, 1838) to Messrs. Hedge, Sprague and Hobart of his own district (Oct. 27, 1838)—to Mr. Oliver Johnson, Cor. Sec. of the Rhode Island A. S. Society (Dec. 13 1838), and compare them with the letter before referred to in the *Intelligencer*, and with his declaring in the House of Representatives (Jan. 21, 1839) that, if the question of abolition was to be put *that day he would vote against it*—a declaration made in immediate connexion with the reception by Mr. A. of a menacing letter from some unknown scribbler in the South, unwisely *timed* to say the least of it;—when I review Mr. A.'s recent course as shewn to me by these landmarks, and add to it his known want of *temper* and stability—his pro-

^a Roger Sherman Baldwin of Connecticut. On the Amistad case see Von Holst, II. 321-329, and Du Bois, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, 112 and 293; Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Am. Biog.* art. Cinque; J. W. Barber, *Story of the Amistad Captives*; E. H. Baldwin, *Stories of Old New Haven*, ch. xl.

slavery attempts, whilst President, on the Congress of Panama *in* relation to Cuba; his proposition to Mexico for the surrender of escaping slaves; his making the same proposition to England, with the iniquitous, *the unconstitutional equivalent of recapturing and delivering* up to West India planters such of their slaves as might escape to this country—a kind of escape of which, in passing, the first instance is yet to be recorded: *all these things* unrepented of and the error of them unacknowledged by Mr. A. shew me—however remarkable and well gifted a person Mr. A. may be in other respects,—a thing which I would be among the last to dispute—yet, that he wants the prime elements of character for *leadership* in a great enterprize whose basis is HUMAN RIGHTS.

Nothing but the earnest regard that I cherish for the integrity of the A. S. cause—which your letter leads me to fear is in some danger of being compromised by its own friends—would persuade me to say what I have, of Mr. Adams, to whom, I am aware, many of our friends consider the cause of Abolition as eminently indebted. But I have said nothing which cannot be verified by indisputable evidence and by which of course, no public man can consider himself wronged. Very truly & sincerely

Yours etc

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

Post script—If any part of this is to be used publicly I desire that it may all be.

J. G. B.

From H. B. Stanton.^a

BOSTON, Feb'y 6, 1844.

MY DEAR SIR: I owe you an apology for not replying sooner to your letter of Decem 15, I was happy to receive it, & was instructed by its perusal; and, if the statute of limitations has not begun to run, beg leave even at this late

^a Henry Brewster Stanton, 1805–1887; journalist and anti-slavery worker; one of the founders of the Republican party; cf. his *Random Recollections*, New York 1887, also the autobiography of his wife, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *Eighty Years and More*, New York, 1895.

day to thank you for it. My only excuse for delaying to answer it, is, the depredations of that old thief, *procrastination*, upon my time.

In regard to the Buffalo Convention,^a I regret only one thing in its proceedings, viz, Mr. Pierpont's resolution. And, I regret that mainly because it seems to yield up our strongest ground in regard to the clause of the Constitution in question—to wit, that it does not include the case of fugitive slaves. At our approaching State Convention (Feb. 14 & 15th) we shall set this matter right, probably. However, when the mass of the community feel about slavery & southern arrogance as you & I do, they will find as few constitutional impediments as they will have conscientious scruples, against its abolition by political action. Mr. Andrews,^b the Texas lawyer, who accompanied Lewis Tappan Esq. to England, now resides in this city, & has prepared a pretty good argument embodying our views in reference to this clause of the Constitution. He thinks of publishing it. I wish you could see it—for I dislike to have a defective or weak argument go to the public, as embodying the views of the Liberal party.

Our Buffalo nominations are well received in this State, and in New England generally, except by those impracticables, the Garrisonians, who are disposed to be satisfied with nothing. Mr. Birney was highly popular with us last fall. We are desirous of getting Senator Morris^c here next fall, to spend a few weeks in Massachusetts. Then we shall have done what neither of the other parties dare do—especially the Whigs—i. e., shown the people of Massachusetts our Presidential Candidates.

Stimulated by your advice, & the success of your example, we have about made up our minds to have a Daily Liberty newspaper in this city. Mr. Leavitt will be its editor. I have no doubt of its reasonable success at the very

^aAugust, 1843. The Pierpont resolution declared that the Abolitionists would regard the third clause of the fourth article of the Constitution "whenever applied to the case of a fugitive slave as utterly null and void" etc. Cf. Stanwood, History of the Presidency 219; Schuckers's Chase, 70.

^bStephen Pearl Andrews, 1812-1886. See the Sketch in Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography; cf. Von Holst II. 628-630.

^cThomas Morris, 1776-1844. Senator from Ohio, 1833-1839; nominated for Vice-President by the Liberty Party in 1843; see Smith, Liberty and Free Soil Parties, 85-86.

outset; & of its ultimate complete success pecuniarily, & of the very great aid it will render our cause, I feel certain. Within a circle of 40 miles around Boston, we give between 5 & 6000 Liberty votes. Nearly every man of these votes is within 6 hours of the city, by means of public conveyances—& half of them within 2 hours. Our paper, besides having a fair subscription in the city, would be taken by many of our friends in all the neighboring towns. Mr. Alden, who will probably be the publisher, is a respectable financier & manager, & has some of those *pushing* qualities so requisite to crowd such an enterprise upon the public attention.

Of Cassius M. Clay, He is doing nobly. His speech on the Texas question, is a grand thing. The compliment he pays to the Liberty party, is invaluable. For that, I presume we are indebted to you. At the recent meeting of the Massachusetts Anti S. Society (Garrisonian) Garrison read a letter from C. M. C. to some Quaker in Rhode Island, & highly complimented C. Garrison is an artful Jacobin, a genuine Robespierre, & he will spare no pains to mislead C. M. C. concerning the character & purposes of the Liberty party. He will no doubt write to him. I trust you will keep in close correspondence with Mr. Clay—for, if he keep on the High Road, he will yet do wonders for Humanity.

We are expecting Alvan Stewart & Gerrit Smith with us on the occasion of our State Convention. Wish you could participate with us, & give us the benefit of your counsels & cheer us with your voice. At our present Convention, we shall probably defer the nomination of presidential electors, till next September, when we intend holding a great mass Convention for that purpose—at which time we should be most happy to welcome you to the old Bay State.

Mr. Gilmore has been with us. What has been the precise extent of his success in his mission, I am not informed. He has done well, I believe. I hope he will meet with all the encouragement he so richly deserves, & that you will not only meet the enemy at Washington, but conquer him.

Clay's prospects begin to brighten, & he will be elected, unless "the democracy" can harmonize. Spencer is rejected as judge of the Sup. Court. If Ketchum, of N. Y. goes on

the bench, he will be with you on the Van Zandt^a case. He is something of an abolitionist. I shall be happy to hear from you.

Very truly & heartily yours,

H. B. STANTON.

From H. B. Stanton.

BOSTON, Oct. 6, 1845.

MY DEAR CHASE: I am much obliged to you for your letter: tho I must be so ungracious as to add, that good as your letter was, I should have been more pleased if you had been present & read it yourself.

I have not complied with your request to address you immediately at the close of our grand Convention;^b for the reason, that the exciting labors of the week completely knocked me up, leaving me with a severe nervous headache & a biting ague in my teeth, which I am now just getting over.

We had a great Convention. Probably upwards of 2000 delegates were present. Our audiences numbered more than 3,000. Gen. Fessenden presided with much ability, & able speeches were made by ex-chief justice Hutchinson & Col. Miller (the Greek hero) of Vermont; Messrs Pierpont, Lovejoy, Burritt, Sewall, Jackson, & others of Massachusetts; Gerrit Smith, W^m Goodell & Lewis Tappan, of New York; Dr. Le Moyne & W^m Elder, of Pa; and other gentlemen from other states. Every free state (I believe Indiana must be excepted), Wisconsin, Iowa, & the District of Columbia, were represented; & even a Kentucky slave holder appeared on the platform & opposed the adoption of the Address, & was replied to & annihilated by Lewis Clark, the Kentucky fugitive, whom the slave holder, in his rejoinder, spoke of as "the gentleman who had preceeded

^a For the Van Zandt case see Schuckers's Chase 52-66 and Chase's letter in Warden's Chase 296-298. John Van Zandt, Chase writes, was "the original of the famous John Van Trompe in Uncle Tom's Cabin."

^b A convention of Liberty men, mainly from New England, called to meet in Boston October 1st. There is a striking contrast between Mr. Stanton's enthusiasm and the almost complete silence of the newspapers of the day. The convention is briefly referred to in Wilson's Slave Power, I, 554.

him!" Letters, good, bad & indifferent, were read from Hon. Messrs. W^m H. Seward, Charles Francis Adams, (son of J. Q. A.) Stephen C. Phillips, Theodore Sedgwick of New York, W^m B. Calhoun (long member of Congress from this state) &c. &c. Capt. Jonathan Walker showed his branded hand to the audience, Miss Delia Webster showed her homely face &c.

The resolutions & address are strong & safe, tho not all that I could have desired, nor all that I expected. Whittier was to have written the address, & he made preparations to do so. But, his health & spirits failed him just at the crisis. He would have drawn up a rich, tasteful, beautiful document, strong & apposite in its facts, & felicitous in its language, not distinguished by great force of argument, but thrilling in its appeals & conciliatory in its spirit. His failure made it necessary for us to fall back upon an address prepared by Gerrit Smith. It is able, strong, calm, but quite elementary & A. B. C. like in its character. It is safe, & I think you will be of the opinion that it will do good. It will be instructive to those who have not read much on our subject. Mr. Sewall presented an able report on Texas annexation. We failed, too, in getting the resolutions from the source we applied to—& did not know that we had failed till just as the Convention was assembling; & then we threw together what we could lay our hands upon. The resolutions are safe on the constitutional question. A long series was introduced by Mr. Spooner, embodying the views in his recent pamphlet. We did not adopt them, but merely referred them to the committee of publication, to print with the proceedings. Some resolutions on the moral & Biblical bearings of our cause, were introduced & adopted. They are strong & *right*—drawn by Rev. A. A. Phelps, of New York—but are rather out of place. They will do no hurt, I think.

Had I known that we should be driven to the straits we were, I think I should have put my poor pen to paper on the address & resolutions. But, with the cares on me (& I did *everything* but write the address & resolutions) even to all the editorials in the *Emancipator*) I encroached so much on professional business, that I had no more time to spare.

The Convention has made a deep impression. We sat Wednesday, Thursday & Friday, & Mr. Smith "preached politics" to a large audience in the Temple Sunday evening. His sermon was a splendid production.

As ever, yours faithfully,

H. B. STANTON.

We stuck to our "one idea," & did not touch the Presidency.

From H. B. Stanton.

BOSTON, Aug. 6, 1847.

DEAR SIR, I am much obliged by your letter of July 28th.

Several of our friends had an interview with Mr. Hale on the 24th ult. Messrs Lewis Tappan, Leavitt, Whittier, Lovejoy & others of this state, Dr. Cleveland of Pa., Mr. Willey, the editor of the Standard in Maine, & Messrs Hale, Tuck & Fagg, of New Hampshire, were present. We spent a day together. Mr. Hale made a full disclosure of his views & defined his position. He is with the Liberty party in principles, measures & feeling. He was in favor of delaying the Convention till spring. He intimated that if all his friends wished him to accept the nomination, & it were tendered to him, he would accept it.

A Committee, consisting of Messrs. Tappan, Leavitt, Whittier, Fagg, Cleveland, Willey & myself, was appointed to correspond with Mr. Hale & get from him an expression of his willingness that we should present his name to the Buffalo Convention. Such a letter has been prepared, & Mr. Whittier was to present it in person to Mr. Hale this week-- he being absent in Vermont till then.

We all were favorable to his nomination for the presidency, & the feeling is very general with us that you should be placed on the ticket with him.

I think his answer to our letter will be in the affirmative; but am not certain. If it be, the same committee will enter upon a correspondence with our friends generally urging his nomination.

Mr. Noble, the publisher of the Era is sending a sort of circular thro the country urging the nomination of Mr.

Smith by the Buffalo Convention! If Mr. S. is nominated at Buffalo, I think I shall not vote for him,—certainly I shall wait to see what the times turn up. I am inclined to the opinion that if any other person is nominated at Buffalo than Hale, I shall not give in my adhesion till I see what the events of next Spring bring forth. I shall not go with the Liberty party, with any other candidate, or a mere abstraction, provided either of the other parties, or any considerable portion of both or either, bring forward a Wilmot Proviso candidate.

I regret that the Convention was not postponed till next year, nor should I be much surprised if “the Macedonians” made a rush at Buffalo & by a mass vote nominated Smith, & so blew up the whole affair; in which case probably some sort of an Anti slavery convention will be called in the Spring. But time will disclose all.

Professional business will detain me from the convention.

Very truly yours,

H. B. STANTON.

From Samuel J. Tilden.^a

NEW YORK, *July 29, 1848.*

MY DEAR SIR, Your letter came here in the absence of Mr. Van Buren, which still continues; and it has been handed to me by Mr. Byant with a request that I would answer it. I desire to do so with perfect candor & with as much accuracy as I can in regard to questions which depend upon the concurring action of numerous individuals composing a large party.

As to your enquiry whether the New York Democracy will be represented in the Buffalo convention, I can only say that so far as representation consists in the presence of persons who will be able to consult with the members of that body & inform them of the views of the democracy of this state, there will be no want of it. But representation of the formal and authoritative character which is usual in the delegated conventions of organized parties, will not be possible either from the nature of the convention itself or

the circumstances in which the Democracy of this state are placed. The convention professes to be merely a mass convention; and does not aim at the indispensable characteristics of a delegated body—among which is a proportionate representation of ascertained constituencies, whose numbers and relations are already known, but it will be simply a voluntary assemblage of individuals whose relations to each other are to be for the first time established. Nor is there any power to act authoritatively for the Democracy of this state—as an organised party ruled the meeting of the Utica convention on the 13th of Sept.

But all this is not deemed to be of much consequence. The Buffalo convention must act with spontaneous unanimity or it will fail of its objects; and the spirit of the people and the circumstances of the occasion will be likely to make it very independent of forms. If it acts with wisdom, the Utica convention will doubtless concur in its nominations for the Vice Presidency as to the Presidency, it will not under any circumstances be practicable to change the position of the Dem'y. of this state. Their convictions on that subject would be irresistible whatever might be the desires of leading men. Nominated as Mr. Van Buren was against his wishes and because he was believed to be the strongest candidate with nearly all to whom they had any right to look for support, and acquiescing as he did on the ground that his old associates & their descendants (?) had a right to his name to strengthen them in maintaining their character and their cause amid the difficulties in which they were, it would not be decent towards him, now that more than they at first hoped is sure to be accomplished, to seek another representative. A still stronger consideration would be the bad faith of such a procedure towards large numbers of men & influential presses which have been drawn into our support by Mr. V. B's name. Another would be the great impolicy of changing front on the eve of battle when the public mind has adapted itself & individuals have formed relations with reference to the candidate. And another would be the conviction that in this state at least his name is far the strongest that can be presented with reference to practicable accessions to the cause. Of course this may be

assumed to be the fact among the democrats from whom our strength is mainly to come; while those whigs who are disposed to go with us—if I may judge from their expressions to me & others previous to the Utica convention of the 2nd of June—prefer him to any other democrat.

The demo'cy of this state are an organ'd party having more than 50 presses—many of which are the oldest and most influential in the state, and having an organization penetrating every county & town, and as they believe not *less* than 150 [sic] [000?] voters—it is hoped many more. They commenced the present canvas (?) without hope of much aid from other quarters, but with the determination to fight the battle alone, if necessary. They have, for the sake of their cause as well as their aim, adapted themselves to the strength on which they could count. Can they be seriously asked to change their position for the hope of accessions from those who as far as this state is concerned do not number a single press openly in support of a free soil candidate? They would hazard very much more than they can hope to get in return.

In regard to Judge McLean the general feeling is favorable to his nomination for the Vice Presidency; and if he should accept, he would, I think, receive a cordial support; & would place himself in a very prominent & powerful position before the country.

I believe I have answered all your inquiries tho' I regret to have been compelled to do so in such extreme haste.

With great [illegible] &c

S. J. TILDEN.

From Adam Kippel.^a

ST. JOSEPH MO. *Sept. 14, 1849.*

DEAR SIR:—* * * I take this method of returning my thanks to you for the valuable public Document you have sent me; from which I have already gathered much useful

^aBorn in Germany in 1828. At this time a printer. In 1851 he became a clergyman in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Later he was an editor. In 1860 he took the stump in company with Carl Schurz in behalf of Lincoln. See United States Biographical Dictionary, Missouri Volume.

information. And whilst thus acknowledging your kindness, permit me to add a few words in relation to myself, and other matters.

I have been in St. Joseph ever since the 26th of March last, & came here, as you will have been informed ere this, with the intention of going to California; but after I had encamped 6 weeks near St. Joseph, & saw the true state of things, I became disheartened in my undertaking, & concluded to remain in St. Joseph & make my way through the world as best I can. I am now in the employ of the "*Gazette*" printing office of this place, where I can earn but scanty wages, & them difficult to obtain, after earned, and, indeed, I have many times been let to believe that "Fortuna" had no boon for me "in this world of ours." I have been a quiet observer of matters & things in Missouri, since I have been here.--The emigration to California *via* St. Joseph this year is said to excell in numbers any former year. Thousands upon thousands made this a starting-point; & I could see men of all classes of Society—from the poorest pauper, down to the most wealthy and Lordly slaveholder, with his gang of negroes. I have seen also foreigners of a great many different nations; Illinois turned out more emigrants than any other State in the Union. I saw a considerably [sic] number of slaves bound for the *dig-gins*—more indeed than I had expected, as I thought the slaveholder would hesitate in taking his so-called "property" to that distant territory, when it is acknowledged on all hands that such "PROPERTY" is so extremely liable to become insecure & slippery in California. They insist, however, that they have a "RIGHT" to take their slaves there & keep them there as such. In this, I am inclined to think, they will find themselves mistaken! About 300 slaves passed through here, in all, for California. The whole number of emigrants is estimated at 12,000 who made this a starting-point. At Independence probably not so many; At Council Bluffs, it is said between 3 & 4,000 started. So you see the number on the road must be inconveniently large.

Dear Sir. --You are no doubt aware of the excitement & agitation in Missouri on the slavery question, and the extraordinary exertions now going on to defeat Col. Benton's

re-election to the Senate^b of the United States. As you are informed of the whole history of the exciting controversy, I shall not repeat anything further here.—But, believe me, sir, the excitement prevalent in this State at this moment, is fully equal to a Presidential campaign, such as we have seen in Ohio last summer & fall. Every where Benton's appeal, his course, slavery in the territories, abolitionism, &c. &c. are discussed & talked over most lively. And Mr. Benton is traveling over the State making speeches to the people, and at every place he goes immense numbers are present to hear. Mr. Benton spoke in this town on the 9th of August, to a very large concourse of people—about 1500 persons. I have sent you the proceedings & speech of this meeting, which you have no doubt received before this time. I was afraid Mr. Benton would commit a blunder, as his mind was very much excited. A little previous to making his speech, he was arrested for slander. Judge James H. Birch—who, by the way is exceedingly unpopular in this section of country, & who is following Benton wherever he goes, making opposition speeches,—was the man that sued Benton, for accusing the Judge of whipping his wife.

Judge Birch spoke here last Saturday (Sept. 8.) together with our own Representative in Congress—Willard P. Hall, the latter taking only a milder ground of opposition to Mr. Benton. Every disguise, as to the intentions of these men towards Benton, is done away. They openly declare, that they “*are determined to put down Benton!*” All the judges, more or less, in Missouri are out against Benton: And Mr. Benton in return comes down upon them in no unqualified terms—calling them nullifiers, disunionists, &c. I am sorry Mr. Benton indulges so much in *profanity*. It looks certainly very bad, especially so in a Statesman. He curses the judges personally, & everybody else that disagrees with him. Yet in this respect his opponents—Atchison & all his followers, the judges—are not a whit behind. Nine out of 22 democratic papers in the State, it appears, are out against Benton, and are unbounded in villifying him, & such epithets as “traitor,” “Apostate”, “Scoundrel”, “Barn

^b On this campaign of Benton's cf. Lucien Carr, Missouri, 221-232.

burner," "Abolitionist," "Free Soiler," are continually heaped upon him unsparingly. At the head of these stands the Jefferson City "Metropolitan"—a miserable sheet, (and its editor, H. L. Boon, a minister in the Methodist Episcopal Church South)—several numbers of which I have sent you, to give you a specimen of the *temper* of the anti-Benton press of this State. And I am afraid Benton *will* be defeated. The people of Missouri, however, so far as I have been able to see will sustain Col. Benton. But, notwithstanding this, I am afraid—very much afraid—our General-Assembly will drop Benton, & send in his place another such a dough-head & Slavery-Propagandist as General Atchison, who is also now canvassing the State against Benton. Atchison is to address the citizens of St. Joseph the last of this month. Our own Representative, the Hon. Willard P. Hall, is a slave holder both in theory & in practice. He is a very wealthy gentleman, lives in the finest house in northern Missouri, & his "*real estate*" in slaves is rapidly increasing! His constituents are fast losing confidence in him, & he will not be re-elected another time. And although his constituents, by a great majority, are non-slaveholding, yet he never dares to speak a word in favor of freedom.

I desire now to remind you of another fact. There is considerable said in Missouri about the Santa Fe Country & the absurd claim of Texas. The slaveholders argue that all that part of New Mexico east of the Rio Grande ought to be given to Texas, notwithstanding the earnest protests of the people of New Mexico. A few weeks ago a company of 50 men chiefly from Tennessee, left these frontiers for Santa Fe, led on by Ex-Senator Anderson, of Tennessee. *Their mission is a secret one!* They are no doubt emissaries of the South, & their object is to secure the admission of slavery in that Territory. I cannot account otherwise of the mission of these men. Those that I have spoken & heard are accomplished politicians. If there should be a scheme on foot to engraft slavery on a free territory in such a manner, I say it ought to be exposed & counteracted. T. Butler King of Geo., as you will have observed, is on a similar mission in California. The question as to the claim of Texas to one-half of New Mexico, I think will be brought

before the Supreme Court of the United States for decision. If this should be the case, I am a little afraid it will be decided in favor of Texas, as the Slave power has the ascendancy in that body. I trust that such an act—I mean the dismemberment of New Mexico—will never be agreed on or submitted to by Congress. The New Mexicans are opposed to a dismemberment of their territory, & to the introduction of slaves among them. And their petitions ought to be respected & complied with by the General Government at as early a time as possible. It is true, some slaveholders with their slaves have gone to Santa Fe last year even from this place, and Independence, but let not that hinder Congress from passing Laws banishing Slavery *for ever* from the Territory, & thus comply with the wishes of the people. I have refrained taking any public part in the controversy raging in this state at present; yet, I am not at all unwilling to defend the position of Col. Benton on the slavery question. If I were to take that decisively strong free soil ground, that I occupied in Ohio last summer, & fall, I could not, in the present state of things, help or further much the anti-slavery cause in Missouri. If Benton should be re-elected again to the U. S. Senate, you can be assured the anti-slavery influence is gaining ground in Missouri.

But I perceive that my sheet is filling up rapidly, and lest I prove tedious I will hurry to a close. I shall be extremely happy, in the meantime, to receive any documents that you may be disposed to send me. I trust the good Providence will preserve your health, and bless you abundantly, so that you may be enabled fearlessly to vindicate our glorious cause in the halls of Congress!

Yours faithfully,

ADAM KLIPPEL.

I should be very glad to receive an answer from you.

FRIDAY, *Sept. 14, 1849.*

I sympathize heartily with the struggling Hungarians. I pray & hope they will succeed against their tyrannical their infamous oppressors. The sad news of the defeat &

surrender of *Bem*^a into the hands of the Russians reached us to-day. Would to God, it proved untrue!

Yours &

ADAM KLIPPEL.

From C. Robinson.^b

LAWRENCE, *Feb. 22, 1856.*

DEAR SIR Your's of 11th inst with \$100 draft is received. Accept for yourself & the donors the gratitude of the free State men & women of Kansas who are ready to risk their lives in the cause of American freedom.

Your excellent message^c is also received. It is natural that the administration papers should laugh us to scorn & I hesitated about the expediency of sending to the Northern Governors such a dispatch, fearing it might be misconstrued; but I was satisfied if there was not something done to excite public attention & sympathy in our behalf we should soon be driven from the Territory or crushed. That such was the intention of our enemies at that time I have no doubt, & nothing but a belief that we had taken steps to arouse the whole North has prevented a general war. A meeting has been held at Independence Mo, denying any intention of molesting the people of Kansas &c, but we *know* that *some* of the people of Mo, *said* & resolved in their lodges that the Free State men of Kansas must & should be driven out, & military companies were organized & drilled when the thermometer was below zero in many of the border towns—I am satisfied the despatches have done good, & if we escape a war it will be on their account. The telegraph announces that the President has issued a proclamation^d but I have not seen it. We sent him a despatch as well as several members of Congress, demanding protection.

We were determined that if we were compelled to fight he should not have it to say he had no notice of our danger.

^aGeneral Joseph Bem, commander of the Hungary patriotic army.

^b1818-1894—Several times the choice of the Free State party in Kansas for Governor and the first Governor of the State after its admission to the Union.

^cSee Hart's, Chase, 172.

^dOf February 11. Summarized in Rhodes, I, 121.

If he & the people of Mo. & the South have found that the *reveille* is sounding throughout the north, & that if war must come it shall be a war in earnest of all the people then there will be *no* war, for the South will never fight us if they believe the north seriously objects to it. The only way in my opinion to get along with the South is to let them know that we have no scruples against fighting if they insist upon our humiliation.

The plan of the slave power now appears to be to hire several thousand men to come to Kansas & live a year, more or less, till a new constitution can be formed & a state government set in motion under it. Hence the recommendation of the President to have Congress pass an "enabling act" &c. Every expedient will be resorted to to get rid of our Constitution hence the Pres. says it was formed by a *party* & not by the whole people.

The gentlemen last sent out were instructed to recommend the appointment of committees in the large towns who should make the collections & have them deposited in some bank subject to be drawn by S. H. Lane, J. R. Goodwin, G. W. Deitzler, & myself jointly for the Committee of Safety. Mr. Schuyler & S. N. Wood were sent out earlier & no plan was named to them.

Our object was to get some relief for the expenses of the invasion, procure means of defense, & procure the enrollment of men, ready to come to our relief if necessary. I thought such a plan would act as a *peace measure*. It has a wonderful effect upon our Mo. neighbors to hear that men are enrolling, & money is being raised in the North.

I need not say to you that you are regarded as *the* Champion of our cause by the people of Kansas, & your success in Congress as well as in the Executive chair of your noble State will not soon be forgotten.

It will afford me great pleasure to hear from you, counsel, advice, reproof, or any word you may find time to communicate, & it shall be my pleasure to forward to you such information as I may be able to concerning the cause of freedom in Kansas.

Very respectfully yours,

C. ROBINSON.

From C. Robinson.

LAWRENCE, Jan. 14, 1858.

DEAR SIR: Accept my thanks for your message this moment received. I would return the compliment but our State is too poor to print my message except in the newspapers which you doubtless have received.

The votes were canvassed yesterday, by J. Calhoun in presence of Gov. Denver, the Prest of the Council & Speaker of the House, for the L.[ecompton] constitution & State officers &c.—The vote now in for the Con. *with* slavery is 6063 & with *no* slavery 576. Of these, Kickapoo polled 1017, Oxford 1266, Shawnee 729, Marysville 232, & Ft. Scott 318, making 3562 out of 6639, by a population of not over 1000. The Pro-slavery State ticket is returned elected by about 300. For member of Congress Randt has 6623 & Corr P. S. 6568. In the State Senate we have as now returned 13 free State & 6 pro S.—in House 29 free State, & 14 pro S. Had all our people voted we would have carried everything. Mr. Calhoun will not close the matter now & more returns may come in to change the result. As it *now* appears we are safe. The Ter^l Legislature will create a commission to examine election frauds, also provide for another Con^l convention. The Topeka Legislature will enact a simple code for emergencies. If we are cheated by Calhoun, war must result inevitably if we are admitted under the L. Con.

The vote *against* the L. Con. on the 4th inst. is not yet counted, but must be ten thousand.

Very truly

C. ROBINSON.

From Theodore Parker.^a

BOSTON 9 March, 1858.

MY DEAR MR. CHASE. I thank you heartily for your kind letter touching my speech at the State House. I *did* send it to you, but did not like to violate the (foolish) law made & provided against writing my name on it. I had no time to speak of *all* the important signs of the times. I meant

^a1810-1860. Clergyman and reformer.

at first to give a significant extract from the *address of each of the* Republican governors. But there were two difficulties—one was the *lack of time*, and the other *lack of material*. Several I had not seen in full,—only extracts in the newspapers, which can't always be trusted, for you don't know what else there may be. I was particularly desirous of mentioning yours & Mr. Barretts. I have only seen yours in part in the *Tribune* and look for the whole message with great interest. I shall count it a special favor if you will send me all that *you* print. You know the esteem & admiration I feel for you, & the high hopes I entertain of the service you are yet to perform for the great cause of Human Rights. I wish I thought better of the Southern part of your state. What keeps the slaves in the N. of Md. Va. Ky? not the central govt, nor the slave hunters in the neighborhood; but the Public Opinion of Penn. O. Md. Ill. I think the northern states behave meanly—very mean, to submit to the insolence of the slave driver & are afraid of the Blackguards! Witness the scene between Senator Foster of Conn. & Mr. Mason yesterday. I wish I could have been a “spirit” to inspire F. as a “medium” for ten minutes, & have interpreted that clause of the const. (Art IV., Sect. IV) by the *Programme of Principles* laid down in the Dec. Ind. & the *Programme of Purposes* in the Preamble to the constitution itself. With the general Progress of Humanity there must be a Progress also in the *Idea of a Republic*; & if the commonwealths of Greece & Rome allowed slavery, I think I can show that no state has a Republican form of Govt, *in the American sense*, which does not secure to all men the inalienable Right to Life Liberty & the Pursuit of Happiness with which it is self evident that God has equally endowed each one of them: & that it is only by securing this to all & each that the Purposes of the constitution can be accomplished. I take it the constⁿ is the People's Power of Attorney by which they authorize their servants to do certain matters & things. In the Preamble they set forth, in general terms, the matters to be done, all of the ends to be accomplished; & in the body of the document point out the means to that end & distribute the parts of the work among the various agents who are to

act under that Power of Attorney—they also define & limit the Powers entrusted.

S. C. has 284,000 free men, 384,000 slaves who are “chattels personal”—not having even the dignity of *real estate*! Is that a Republican Form of govt. where a minority own the majority? What if Mr. Hammond owned all the 668,000 people of the S. C., would it be a Republican Form of govt.—he appointing the *Gov.*, *Legislature*, Senators, & Rep. to Congress? But *qualitatively* it would be the same as now; the difference would be but quantitative, not in kind only in degree. I know the Romans & Athenians owned slaves—& called the state a *Republica*, or a *Δημοκρατία*; but it is said that Abraham attempted to sacrifice his only son to God—a whole burnt offering. If Senator Mason should do it tomorrow I doubt if the Grand Jury in Washington would impute it to him for righteousness next week.

Yours faithfully

THEODORE PARKER.

From G. W. Brown.^a

LAWRENCE, Nov. 1st, 1858.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:—Your very welcome letter of the 22nd ult., inclosing two dollars, has come to hand, for which again accept my hearty thanks.

In regard to our political matters I am very happy to advise you of my views in a private letter, opinions I could not safely advance through my *Herald of Freedom*.

The attempt to organize a Republican party in Kansas does not come from our leading anti-slavery men, but from a class of boys headed by *Gen. Lane*, the object of which seems to be to head the Republican movement in Kansas, and make themselves the leaders. I am honest in the conviction that if the Free State party were disbanded today, and parties were organized upon the basis of parties in the States, the Democracy would be triumphant. My opinion is not based upon a superficial knowledge of men and things,

^aGeorge W. Brown M. D., author of *Reminiscences of old John Brown*, Boston, 1880
His *Herald of Freedom* was the first Free Soil paper in Kansas.

but dates back to the first settlement of the Territory, with a perfect knowledge of every phase of sentiment in the Territory. My opportunities as a journalist, is second to that of no man in Kansas, as I am constantly in communication both personally and by letter with leading men in all parts of the Territory.

The opposition is so strong with the masses of the people against free blacks settling among us that they number more than two to one. This comes from our population being made up of western men. In Lawrence, and some other points, eastern men have control of the political wires, but they constitute but a very small proportion of the voters, and hence will be invariably defeated by any organization which takes open issue with them. These voters feel that the Republican party is thoroughly devoted to the black man, and is laboring to place him upon an equality with himself. The Pro-slavery and Democratic organs and leaders are active in propagating this opinion, and it is not compatible with my views as an "equal rights man" to controvert this position.

Then the Free State party embraces about one-third Democrats. If these were to leave us, and organize by themselves they would be openly augmented by the Pro-Slavery party, and the many free State Democrats who have held themselves aloof from both parties in the past, approving of neither, and then with their denunciations of the Republicans and their equality views the black law men would almost to a man go over to them, leaving the genuine Republicans with less than one-third the voters of the Territory.

Suppose the Republican party is organized now. Then they commit political suicide. By continuing the organization as at present we can get control of the first State legislature, and thus secure two U. S. Senators whose position in the States will be taken side by side with the Republicans, and we can have a Republican State organization at home in all its branches. By wise legislation we can soon satisfy the black law men that we do not propose any extreme legislation, not that we will legislate for the black man, but we will merely remain passive, and not legislate

at all in regard to them any more than we do for the white man.

I know the difficulty of making myself thoroughly understood in this matter by a brief letter. I wish, however, that my friends will take me somewhat on trust. My service for the last fifteen years in the anti-slavery ranks, my frankness at all times and in all places to enunciate my extreme anti-slavery views, with my *present* sacrifice in behalf of the cause justifies me in asking of my old co-laborers that they do not distrust me. Sometimes I am almost resolved to abandon my post, and while I write I am seriously considering whether I will not take leave of the press and of public life during the next two weeks. My weekly expenses equal fifty dollars a week, and my receipts will not exceed ten dollars. I have sunk from thirty to forty dollars a week for six months and have only maintained my position by the sacrifice of property at half its value, sincerely desirous to keep my post until the end which called me to Kansas is attained, and we are a free State of the Union. But whether the gratification of my desire in the premises will justify me in beggaring myself is a question which I am more than half resolved to decide in the negative.

I shall be very happy to hear from you, with such suggestions as you may be disposed to favor me with in regard to our future. Remember, however, that I wish to see Kansas a Republican State, and that I believe if this crisis can be kept off until we are a State *in* the Union we shall have no difficulty in making it the equal of Massachusetts or Wisconsin on the slavery question.

Very Truly Yours,

G. W. BROWN.

From James A. Briggs.^a

NEW YORK *March 17, 1860.*

MY DEAR FRIEND—I took the article from the German (Cin) paper to the Tribune & found another Gaz. & took it to the Post. It appears in both those papers.

^a Probably the former editor of the Free Soil "True Democrat" of Cleveland.

The contest for the Presidency is between yourself and Seward. His late speech has improved his chances some. Jersey men say he cannot carry that State, & so say many from Pa. Mr. Denning Duer, son-in-law of the late James G. King, M. C. from N. J., Judge Marsh, Mr. H. M. Lowe, &c are among the delegates from N. J. I think there are men in that Delegation who will stand by and urge you. Mr. Duer prefers you. I think a former law partner of Mr. Barney is also a delegate.

I hear you made friends at Albany. Mr. Littlejohn, said to one of your friends, you were his second choice for the Presidency. We were expecting you here. Dinners at the houses of several gentlemen were ready for you in a quiet way, and many were on tip toe to see you.

Mr. Lincoln, of Ill. told me he had a very warm side towards you, for of all the prominent Reps. you were the only one who gave him "aid & comfort"—I urged him by all means, to attend the Convention. I was pleased with him, & paid him all the attention I could. Went with him to hear Mr. Beecher & Dr. Chapin. Mr. Barney went with him to the "House of Industry" at the five Points, and then took him home to learn [lunch?]. He was very much pleased with Mr. Barney. What a strong, steady, working, glorious friend you have in Hiram Barney! It is really worth living to have one such friend, so true a man. He is very kind to me. I tell him he must make friends with the Seward men. Keep in with them—Say not one word against Seward, & if he can go to the Convention, he must cast the first vote for Seward. He hesitates, but I think it best. I would not say one word to baffle Seward's friends, I tell him, for if Seward is nominated, four years will soon come round, & then we may want their help, & he can plead former services.

I think the Bates movement has accomplished all that was intended—*Dana* prefers you to Seward. Thinks Seward would make us harder work than any other man. I see it reported that *Banks* will not allow his name to be used against Mr. Seward. Guess Weed has slept with him. Banks don't amount to much. Think he has reached the end of his rope. He is slippery. Mr. Truman Smith prefers you to Seward.

I shall try & go to Conn. some evening next week. Be of good cheer. Let us work & wait.

With kindest regards.

Yours truly,

JAMES A. BRIGGS.

From Joshua Leavitt.^a

Thank God! ·
Lincoln is chosen!

N. YORK, Nov. 7, 1860.

MY DEAR FRIEND—Let me congratulate you on the glorious result. What a growth since 1840. William Jackson, Alvan Stuart, Myron Holley, Sam. Lewis, Tom Morris, Birney & Bailey, were not spared to see the result. It is a joy to have lived to this day. Let the future meet its own exigencies.

Now for the next. *You* will be consulted by the President Elect, & will be his trusted adviser. If Seward prefers the Sec. of State to the Senate, his age entitles him to his choice, though I think he had best die in harness in the Senate. Best for us, and best for him. If he does that, you must take that place in “the line of safe precedents” you know—as witness Clay, Webster, Everett, Marcy, & Cass! But so duty calls.

That settled, I hope Mr. Lincoln in making up his government, will beware & not weaken his force in the two Houses, except for very special reasons. There are plenty of men outside of Congress, & much depends on our continuing to be as we are immeasurably ahead in the ability of our representation.

He should not make up his cabinet of old Whigs. They are amazingly hungry for office, & naturally assume that the right to rule inheres in them. But the Democratic strength is too formidable yet, to allow us to give them the advantage of saying it is only a Whig victory. The permanence of our power depends on what we can gain, & keep from the ranks of the old Benton Democracy.

I think B. Gratz Brown one of the first minds of the country—would fill the place of Secretary of the Interior.

^a1794-1873. A reformer and anti-slavery editor. At this time one of the editorial staff of *The Independent*.

It is desirable to have a good proportion of young men, in the Cabinet & in the government—25 to 30 & upwards is a good age. It is said Greeley wants to be Postmaster General. He had better be Attorney General. He does not understand Postage, & has not the gift of government. His appointment to any place *in the cabinet* will ruin the administration.

You will excuse my troubling you with these brief suggestions. Let them pass for what they are worth. You may be assured I am content and ask nothing for self or others, only a wise administration, & of that I have no fears under Old Abe.

Yours as ever—

JOSHUA LEAVITT.

From John G. Whittier.

AMESBURY, 9th 11th Mo 1860

MY DEAR FRIEND: I was very glad to see thy name at the foot of thy note which reached me yesterday. In this hour of the triumph of our principles—so long delayed—I want to grasp the hand of every man, who has worked & waited, dared & suffered for it. I recognize thee as one who to use the words of Milton has “more than wished the welfare of Liberty & having therefore a charter and freehold of rejoicing to thee & thy heirs.”

Well God has laid the great responsibility upon us! We must take it up & bear it. We need, if ever men did, the wisdom which is from above, pure & peaceable. I read thy Kentucky speech with great satisfaction. If we stand steadily by the doctrines it enunciates, we shall be sustained by the best hearts & minds of the South & by a united North. I trust its author will have his place in the new cabinet. Thy counsels are needed.

My sister desires her love to thee, & also Dr. S. and his family send kindly regards.

Ever & truly thy fd

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Did thee miss a pair of gloves at Dr. Sparhawk's? a pair were left there. They were too small for the Dr. So I have used them in my campaign electioning.

From H. B. Stanton.

Confidential—strictly.

SENECA FALLS, Nov. 30, 1860.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: I am obliged by yours of the 26th & the most lucid & excellent speech made by you in exposition of republican principles in a Slave State.

On Saturday evening last, in New York city, some 30 to 50 prominent men, chiefly free-democrats of 1848, met for consultation in regard to the Cabinet of Mr. Lincoln. They held an adjourned meeting on Monday of this week—appointed a Committee of 10 to look after this matter—which Committee meets at Albany on Tuesday next. The subjects of the organization of our legislature, & the election of a U. S. Senator, also claimed some of our attention.

Among the prominent men present were Lieut. Gov. Campbell, Dudley Field, C. A. Dana, Abijah Mann, W^m Curtis Noyes, Geo. Opdyke, Barney, Senator Madden, ex Canal Com^r Sherrill, Hughes, Clerk of Court of Appeals, Godwin, of the Post, F. A. Conkling, Congressman-elect from the City, Judge Hogeboom, T. B. Carroll, &c. &c.

We talked freely, very freely—Your name was most cordially received, & all hoped you would be called to the first place in the Cabinet, & all felt that weighty considerations should induce you to accept the post if offered.

I think 2 or 3 gentlemen, representing the views of these meetings, & this Committee of ten, will visit Mr. Lincoln ere long, to express to him their opinion as to whom it would be advisable to call to his Cabinet from this State. Senator Trumbull & Mr. Colfax thought it would be best to do so, (I saw them in N. Y. two days ago.)—These gentlemen will probably be selected on Tuesday at Albany. On their route to Illinois, they will perhaps call upon you. The names most frequently mentioned by the sound republicans of our State, for a seat in the Cabinet, are Mr. Greeley, David Dudley Field, Jas. S. Wadsworth, & W^m Curtis Noyes. (We understand & believe that Gov. Seward will not accept a seat in the Cabinet, even if tendered to him.) All concede that Mr. Greeley would be a most valuable counsellor; but he himself says that he “is out of the way for

any such post." Messrs Field, Noyes, & Wadsworth are all able men. The professional reputation of the two former you know. The latter is not a lawyer. The old Barnburners, who were in the fight of 1848, & are now sound & honest republicans, would doubtless prefer either Mr. Field or Mr. Wadsworth. The latter would hardly allow himself to be urged for the Treasury Dept. He might take the Interior or the Navy. Mr. Field is competent for any post; but, he might be objected to for the Treasury because of his alleged free-trade doctrines. We don't know of any other republican of democratic antecedents, of sufficient prominence for a post in the Cabinet, who is not *fishy*. Some, whose names might occur to you, would be wholly unacceptable to *sound* republicans.

Of the gentlemen of Whig antecedents, Mr. Noyes would be acceptable to our sound men. He was a delegate to Chicago, & voted for Gov. Seward; & he *is entirely reliable upon all matters about which I may be supposed to be now thinking*. He is thoroughly honest & is opposed to illiberal dictation & all dictators in our State.—An obstacle might lie in the path of Mr. Field because of his ardent opposition to Gov. Seward at Chicago. He would be entirely acceptable to our sound republicans. So would Mr. Wadsworth. He wrote a letter to Chicago deprecating Gov. S's nomination in moderate terms. He is highly popular in the State. In fine, if we are to have a man of democratic antecedents, the first choice I think would be Mr. Field. If he cannot be had, then Mr. Wadsworth. If of Whig antecedents, then (Gov. Seward & Mr. Greeley not wishing to be considered) I think Mr. Noyes would be preferred. Gov. Morgan it is understood feels it to be his duty to serve out his term as Governor. *This is the strong desire of those republicans of whom I am speaking*. I might enlarge upon this point, but this is sufficient.—As to gentlemen out of the State, Mr. Colfax is the favorite of our republicans for the place of P. M. General. His selection for that position would be generally acceptable, & in important quarters he is strongly urged.—Messrs Simmons of R. I. Dayton of N. J. & Grow, of Pa., are favorably mentioned by our kind of people; as are Messrs. Bates, Blair, Clay, Etheridge,

Botts & Davis, for the South. I will write you again from Albany. For obvious reasons please treat this as confidential.

Yours ever,

H. B. STANTON.

I have condensed so much that probably I have not made myself fully understood on some points.

From H. B. Stanton.

Confidential.

SENECA FALLS, Dec 7, 1860.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR. When writing you a few days since, I stated that after our consultation at Albany, I might address you again. You doubtless understand that one of the reasons why I communicate so freely with you, at this time, about a New York member of the Cabinet is, that I hope a state of things will arise in which it will be according to precedent for the president to confer with you upon that general subject before definitely fixing upon his Constitutional advisers.

At our Albany conference at which Messrs Bryant, Abijah Mann, T. B. Carroll, Judge Hogeboom, Dorsheimer, Barney, & myself were present, acting as a Committee, we somewhat freely canvassed names for the Cabinet. You will note that all the gentlemen mentioned as being present, were formerly of the radical or Barnburner wing of the Democratic party; & we think, as do our constituents (if I may use that phrase) that that element of the republican party in this State ought to have a member of the Cabinet; & for reasons which will readily occur to you, the principal of which are, that we make up a very large share of the party in this State, & inasmuch as the president will doubtless wish to call two or more gentlemen to his cabinet of democratic antecedents we have thought he might naturally look to this State for one of them.

Who, then, shall he be? At our conference it was stated that Mr. David Dudley Field preferred not to have his name used for a Cabinet position, because he intended to be a candidate for the U. S. Senate. This being so (I only

assume it for the argument's sake) then the only two names much mentioned, of democratic antecedents, are Mr. George Opdyke, of New York City, & Mr. James S. Wadsworth, of Genesee. Mr. O. is presented for the Treasury Department. I have thought two obstacles lay in his path; 1st That the Treasury Department would be given to some gentleman in Pennsylvania (or, they failing to agree in that State, then, to some one in New Jersey as representing her feelings & interests) or, in New England, say in Rhode Island or Massachusetts. 2^d That this post would be pretty certainly bestowed upon a person of moderate protection (or tariff) antecedents. Mr. O. has been a free trader, & wrote a book some years ago in favor of that system. I have thought that this might be urged as an objection to him, by his opponents. My personal acquaintance with Mr. O. is somewhat limited. I am writing confidentially to you--& it is due to the exigency to say that distinguished gentlemen who claim to know Mr. O. well, express grave doubts about his capacity to grapple successfully with the important financial & commercial questions which will arise during the coming four years. On this point I can give no opinion; but can say that Mr. O. is an upright, honorable, worthy man.

Of Mr. Wadsworth I have room to say but little. He is one of the most reliable men in the State. He was with us heart & soul in the Buffalo fight of 1848. He is well educated, has always been accustomed to deal with large business matters, & is a vigorous writer. His integrity & courage are unquestionable & he is one of the most popular men in New York. He would not think of going into the Treasury department; but would be better adapted to the Interior or Navy. Should you be in the Cabinet, you would find Mr. W. a most desirable co-worker whom you could lead readily, & upon whom you could always rely.

Business takes me to Washington next week, whence I may write you again.

Yours very truly

H. B. STANTON.

My sheet being exhausted, I will say on this slip that Lieut. Gov. Campbell (one of our most reliable & clear-

headed men) is strongly in favor of Mr. Wadsworth being selected. His (Lieut. Gov. C's) opinion is entitled to great weight. Mr. W's appointment would be highly popular with such men as Mr. Bryant, Gov. Selden, Mr. Dorthiemeir, [sic] Judge Grover, & indeed, the great body of the Barnburners now in the Republican party, who have not been seduced or defiled with Albany corruptions.—Mr. W., too, would be wholly acceptable to Mr. Greeley, while not a member of the party could say aught against him. Then, too, he is one of the most popular men, with all classes, in our ranks. If you were at the head of the Cabinet, you would find in him a warm friend,—for, I have, in conference with him, often heard him speak of you & your general views & policy in the warmest terms of commendation.

You will not understand me as recalling anything I said in my last in favor of Mr. Noyes, if the person selected from N. Y. is to be of Whig antecedents.

From H. B. Stanton.

Confidential.

WASHINGTON HOUSE, Washington, Jan. 7, 1861

MY DEAR CHASE: I cannot tell you how much solicitude I feel about the state of things here, both in regard to measures & men.

And first, as to measures. The most strenuous efforts are being made to induce Republican Senators and representatives to vote for Mr. Crittenden's proposition. I have been here only two days; but long enough to be alarmed. However, the true men are not idle & I hope for the best.

Now, as to men. I have no doubt that either explicitly or impliedly the State Department is at the disposal of Gov. Seward. I have reason to think that it will not be expressly & formally offered, unless it is distinctly understood that he will accept; & that he is now considering whether he will or not. —As to the Treasury Department. I have reason to believe that Mr. Cameron has been explicitly told he can have a place in the Cabinet, but that it is not yet determined whether to offer him the Treasury or the War. —The

strongest protests have gone from here, & from Pennsylvania, to Mr. Lincoln, against Mr. Cameron being called to the Treasury. Senators (among them Mr. Trumbull) have written most pointedly to that effect. So have Representatives, & others.

You know that Mr. Weed has been at Springfield. I can state positively that, in the only two interviews he held with Mr. Lincoln, a third person was present at the request of Mr. L. That third person is here, & I think I can hardly be mistaken in saying that one of those interviews was pretty much wholly devoted to discussing the Slavery question, the proposed compromises, &c. and that the other was devoted to talking about men, offices, &c., but, that no particular men *by name* were distinctly mentioned by Mr. Weed, but that his line of remark drifted directly towards Seward & Cameron.

My impression is, that *our New York friends*, with gentlemen in Pennsylvania, and Senators & others here, will make a successful effort to prevent the Treasury being bestowed upon Mr. Cameron. From some Senators, the protest will be a very strong one. If this is successful, & even if the State Dept. goes to New York, the Treasury may be placed in reliable hands. Could you see the almost universal feeling that prevails here that that department may be offered to & accepted by *you*, you would hesitate long before you refused it, should it be tendered. It is, undoubtedly, to be the most important post in the coming Administration,—opening a wide field for the display of your eminent abilities & well-tested administrative capacity. You see what the Tribune of Saturday says on that subject; & when the article on the cabinet was read, there was a general feeling & expression in regard to yourself like this, “God grant that that man may be so!”

My dear friend, we must have some such men as you in the Administration, or all is gone. With you, & Bates, & Welles, I should feel that a class of men to whom the Republican party is more indebted than to any others, would not be proscribed.

I am to be here (at this hotel) a couple of weeks on professional business, & would be happy to hear from you.

You can confer with me in the strictest confidence, if you desire it.

Very faithfully yours as ever,

H. B. STANTON.

From E. B. Washburne.^a

HOUSE OF REPS. *Jan. 10, 1861.*

MY DEAR GOVERNOR: The probability now is that Lincoln's administration is likely to escape a great calamity which threatened it. What I mean is, that Cameron will *not* have a place in the cabinet either by his declining the appointment, or a withdrawal of it by Lincoln. The idea now prevails here, upon apparently good authority, that you have been offered the Treasury, but many fears are expressed that you will not accept. It is said you would have accepted the State. Will you permit me to say that in the present state of the country, and its finances, the country demands your services in the Treasury department, and to express a most earnest hope that if the Secretaryship of the Treasury has been tendered to you, you will accept it. You can do more good in that Department than in any other, and can acquire more reputation. I think I may safely say, I speak the sentiments of the great majority of our republican friends here. You would be surprised, as well as flattered at the unanimity here on that subject. Your appointment would be hailed with satisfaction and delight from quarters you little think of. Though you are needed in the Senate, yet I tell you it is *now* a necessity that you should go into the cabinet if Lincoln has tendered you a place. There are reasons that I cannot elaborate in a letter, as hastily written as this. But I could not resist the impulse to say this much, as an old friend and admirer, and the same that I have twice said to Lincoln.

I am truly yours &c.

E. B. WASHBURNE

^aEllhu Benjamin Washburne, 1816-1887. Member of Congress, 1853-1869. United States minister to France, 1869-1877.

From Cassius M. Clay.^a

Private.

JAN. 16, 1861.

MY DEAR CHASE: You have been to Springfield. What are you going to do—to accept the secretaryship of the treasury? I should have been glad to have seen you premier, but will consider it a gain to the party to have you in the Cabinet at all events. What is to become of *me?* as Webster said, where am I to go! go? For twenty years I have been in *exile* for principle's sake! now when those to whose magnanimity I trusted my all, have come into power, they propose to ignore me! such is the report! Will L. give me the war department or not, think you? What ought I to do?

The border states will be true to the Union—provided only the Union is true to itself! I have heretofore forbidden my friends to say anything in my behalf to L. now ought I to change my policy, and ask their kind words in my behalf?

In haste, your friend,

C. M. CLAY.

From F. E. Spinner.^b

WASHINGTON CITY, *January 22, 1861.*

DEAR SIR: The present strength of the Republican party is not all due to the encroachments of the slave power.

Large numbers of true men, from all parties, joined our standard because of the corruptions of the National administration.

The permanency of our organization, and its power for good and to resist slavery aggression, will depend upon the confidence that the people shall place in the honesty of its management of the affairs of the nation—and especially in its administration of the finances.

^a Cassius Marcellus Clay, 1810– , was appointed United States minister to Russia, March, 1861. He returned from this post in 1862 but was again appointed in 1863 and served till 1869.

^b Francis Elias Spinner, 1802–1890. Elected representative to Congress as an Anti-Slavery Democrat in 1854. Member of Congress, 1855–1861. Treasurer of the United States, 1861–1875.

Unless the incoming administration shall inaugurate a system of the most rigid economy and strictest honesty it will break down in its first year.

Intrigues are again in progress to place a particular man at the head of the Treasury Department—The country is alarmed at the mere suggestion.

Now it is believed that the President elect has offered you the place, and that you have declined it. If this is so, let me beg of you for God's sake, and the country's, reconsider this, and save the party and the great cause that brought it into being.

Very Respectfully and Sincerely yours

F. E. SPINNER.

MY DEAR SIR: Genl. S. has just shewn me this letter. I beg to add my entreaty to his that you will not decline this offer.

Truly yours

C. B. SEDGWICK.

From John Jay.^a

NEW YORK *April 4, 1861.*

MY DEAR CHASE, The moment hostilities shall break out at the front, we will be in danger of *insurrection at New York.*

Mayor Wood long since broached his scheme for separating New York from the union & the State & making it a free city.^b The Herald is advocating the scheme, & a secret league in favor of it is said to number some 4000 or 5,000 men.

I think the Federal Gov. should at once organize a complete system of *protection for the sub-treasury & Custom House &c*—so that no delay need occur when protection shall become necessary. The sooner we have a proper man in place of Rynders the better, and it is I think of more than usual importance at this time that all the Federal Officers in New York should be men who will act harmoniously together.

^a 1817-1894. United States minister to Austria-Hungary 1869-1875.

^b See Rhodes's History of the United States, III, 369.

The rejection of the offer for the new loan under 94 is regretted by many as a matter of policy. Opdike attributes it to the action of the President with or without the advice of his Cabinet. If this was the case the responsibility of it should be borne by them.

Always faithfully yours

JOHN JAY.

John A. Kennedy to H. Barney.^a

(Copy)

OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT
OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE,
413 BROOME STREET COR. OF ELM,
New York Apl. 16, 1861.

Hon. H. BARNEY.

DEAR SIR—I called at your office today but was unable to catch your eye, and say to you the word I designed.

I therefore take this mode of informing you, that, among a multitude of *warnings*, I am constantly receiving, several relate to the public offices as in danger of attack. Among these the Custom House, the Sub Treasury and the Assay office are named. I preferred to consult with you, rather than with the Custodians of either of the other offices, in regard to the proper mode of defence in case of need. Mr. Cisco is such a timid man, that I feared throwing him into spasms, did I mention a suspicion of safety to him. And the Assay man, I have no acquaintance with.

I may call again in the course of tomorrow.

Meanwhile I have taken care to increase the patrol force in the immediate vicinity of these offices; and have arranged for still further increase, should it be needed.

Very Truly Yours,

JOHN A. KENNEDY *Supt.*

From W. A. Howard.^b

[By telegraph.]

BALTO Apr 27th 1861.

SIR, Troops are advancing upon Baltimore en route for Washington. Its impossible for them to get through this city. 20000 men are prepared to oppose them. Rail Road track & bridges burnt & torn up. If an order is not sent for them to return (said to be 900 men) they will be

^a 1811-1895. Appointed by President Lincoln collector of the port of New York, and served 1861-1864.

^b 1807-1871. Naval and revenue officer.

destroyed. All the troops here have been ordered out to meet them ten to one. The P. Allen is not in port. I am endeavoring to find a steam tug to take down the Bay, in search of her, doubtful if it can be done. I am in consultation with Messrs Kennedy & Morrison Harris in accordance with your instructions.

I have the honor to be very Respectfully

W. A. HOWARD

Capt U. S. R. M.

From John Jay.

NEW YORK, April 23^d 1861.

MY DEAR MR. CHASE—Trusting that Washington is safe, we are still nervously anxious to hear from the Capitol—and to hear regularly; & to know that the *voice of the people at the North is heard there as it swells with a common devotion to the Government*. Nothing is more essential not only in a military view but in every view of at least one safe open route from Washington—the seat of Gov't—to New York the centre of Commerce & of public feeling—indicating by the press the daily beating of the nation's heart—a route for travel for the mails & the telegraph. We trust such a route will soon again be opened—and it would seem to comport with the national dignity that it should lie through Baltimore—a matter which it is thought the army from Harrisburgh & that from Annapolis could readily accomplish—As it is our Capitol is as it were in a foreign country, & the mutual confidence between the government & the people that would be so much strengthened by frequent communication is very much lost. Such a route too would ensure abundance of provisions for our northern volunteers who it is rumored today are suffering from insufficient food.

Might not two heavily armed cruisers in the Potomac constantly going up & down the river render impossible the erection of any shore batteries & enable transports with provisions to run regularly. I do not know whether the ships that take our troops are always loaded also with provisions—but they might each carry I hear a thousand barrels or more without inconvenience. In view of the warm weather & of the character of the volunteers, vegeta-

bles & fresh meats occasionally are probably important to their health. Apples are easily procured & preserved meats & soups, in case of sickness.

The multiplicity of detail now pressing upon the Cabinet induces me to suggest the expediency of their inviting the advice of practical commercial men as to the best means of carrying out the policy they decide upon. Capt. Chas. H. Marshall, Robert B. Minturn of N. Y. Scott V. P. of the Penn. R. R. at Philadelphia are men of this class. And Alex. Campbell of the firm of Ward Campbell & Co. is I hear a man of such singularly sound judgment that the N. Y. banks make him their confidential adviser.

E. S. Sanford President of the American Teleg. Co. & of Adams Express is said to be the most effective executive officer in the U. S. having some 7,000 agents under him in all parts of the country, & that he would faithfully accomplish whatever he undertook.

I presume any of these gentlemen would readily attend the Gov. if their presence was desired. I don't know abt. Sanford except as a matter of business.

The threatening European war in the opinion of thoughtful men is likely to complicate soon our position unless the reduction of the rebellion is rapidly pushed: Neither France nor England will like the market for silk & cotton interfered with: & if France wants a pretext it is at hand in the pretence that the South is a *de facto* Government or that the blockade is ineffective. With a North so united so liberal—so enthusiastic & earnest the sooner the matter is settled if the most energetic measures can settle it the better.

Barney & Murray are proving themselves most efficient officers. The spirit of the people is that of '76 & makes us all proud of our countrymen.

The love of the union is begetting an attachment for the administration & an intelligent appreciation of their efforts to preserve it.

God bless you.

Always faithfully yours

JOHN JAY.

The conviction is deep that without an open route Washington will be sometime lost.

Opdike says we must pass either *through* Baltimore or *over* it.

From William D. Kelley.^a

PHILAD^a Apr 29th 1861.

DEAR SIR: The enclosed article discloses a scheme by which Hon C. J. Ingersoll et id omne hoped to divide the now unanimous north. I know the fact that the administration would have been requested by the five ex presidents to grant an armistice but for the hesitancy of Mr. Van Buren—who declined to unite until he should be assured that the administration desired to be approached in that way. As this was just what the originators of the scheme did not want it may have fallen through.

Yours Very truly

WM D. KELLEY.

From Reverdy Johnson.^b

FREDERICK 8 May '61

MY DEAR GOV^r On getting to Baltimore on Monday, I rec^d your private note of the 4th

In the present condition of Balt. & the state, the Gov^r thinks & I concur with him, that more than one compy of U. S. soldiers in the city, would be more mischievous, than otherwise.

Indeed he does not believe, nor do I, that it is necessary to the protection of the Gov^t property, or the assertion of any of its rights, to have any such force there, & I should advise ag^t it. If the troops pass thro' the city without resistance, as it is thought they will, it will [be] evident, that no such force would be required.

I am glad to tell you that the Union sentiment gets stronger and stronger. The Legislature will no doubt adjourn this week, without doing any thing to affect our condition. The safety bill, is dead past all hope. The effort of the conspirators to make our's the field of battle & not their own, will signally fail.

I shall be in Wash'n next month.

Very respt.

REVERDY JOHNSON

^a William Darrah Kelley, 1814-1890. Member of Congress from Pennsylvania 1861-1890.

^b 1790-1876. Senator from Maryland 1845-1849; Attorney-General of the United States 1849-50; Senator again 1863-1868; minister to England 1868-69.

Tho' marked private you can of course show this to the president. The envelope (the only one I can obtain) will show the Union feeling.

From Garrett Davis.^a

WASHINGTON CITY 21st Aug^t 1861

DR. SIR I am consious of having annoyed you a good deal, but I am more conscious of not having done so for honor, or profit, or place, but from an earnest desire to attempt to render some little service to my government, to my native state, and to my country, in their great need. I am 59 years of age—I have children & grand children, and the great boon which I ask of my Maker is to see this great rebellion put down, the political heresies that brought it on, conquered & blotted out forever, the seceded States brought back into the union, and the constitution & laws of Congress in full, vigorous & healthy operation from the capitol to the uttermost border of the United States.

If in the future battles, our army is victorious, we will have turbulence in Ky., but no convulsion. If our arms meet with serious reverse, we shall be threatened with violence & intestine war; and the union men of Ky. ought to have the best possible preparation for that issue.

If every union man in the State had a good gun, I should fear no result, and the pressing need is to arm as many and as fast as possible—it being judiciously done. The arms intended for East Tennessee, now in Cincinnati or Ky. ought, as soon as possible, to be put into the hands of unconditional, I would say extreme union men in our State, to be organized into companies upon the express understanding, that they were to hold themselves in readiness to be mustered into the service of the U. S. & to go upon any service. I know I could effect such an organization to the extent of 15000 additional men to those now enrolled, without serious obstacle.

In three elections, rapidly succeeding each other Ky., has declared against secession and for the Union. The union

^a1801-1872. Senator from Kentucky, 1861-1872.

men are determined that this protracted conflict shall cease, & the secessionists are equally determined it shall not; and the only way it can terminate without bloodshed is, for the Union men to have an overwhelming military organization, that will inform the secessionists, that if they rise with force of arms they are to be annihilated. Should this organization be promptly & considerably extended it would have a wholesome influence upon our Legislature. Lieut. Nelson's enrolment & encampment might have been more judiciously managed. But there must be no square backing down from his movement. It would have a most discouraging & demoralizing effect with the Union party of the State. To prevent it from alarming & to some considerable extent, disaffecting the peace loving & timid union men of the State, for the present, it must be modified & be made to assume the name of an organization & encampment to give peace security and protection to Ky. and all her people & for no other purpose. On this form, & for this ostensible purpose, the union men would approve and sustain it, before it was sanctioned directly or inferentially by the Legislature.

When the Legislature meets, it will, & especially if sustained by a strong military organization of the union men, assume & pay the State's portion of the direct taxes, pass a law to punish treason, to punish the enlistment of men in the State for any service but that of the State or the U. S.; and pass resolutions asserting the power & right of the U. S. government to march troops across, or station them in any State; & also the power & the duty of the general Government to protect every State, & every loyal citizen thereof, against invasion, rebellion, or insurrection. I believe all these measures will be promptly passed by our State Legislature. I know that I can contribute some moral force to the success of these measures, & I also know that that moral force would be materially increased were I clothed by the administration with the authority of which we conversed last evening. But I do not solicit that authority, & I only declared my willingness to take it because, I believe, I could use it both discreetly & with good results to my State & my country. If the administration thinks differently be it so. I shall go home firmly resolved, as best I can, to do my duty to both.

This may be the last time I shall ever address you, & I ask leave to say to you, that I, & the people of my State, felt more repugnance to your appointment than to that of any other head of a department: and I further say, with equal candor & truth, that I now put more trust & hope in you than the whole administration besides. It seems to me that the Government is not yet fully alive to the greatness & urgency of the dangers which beset it; and that unless it makes prompt, vigorous & much greater preparations, it will never subdue this horrible rebellion; & if such should be the issue, I wish the true union men of Ky. to be fully armed, so that they may be able to hold the State to her old anchorage in despite of every storm.

I have never known a more united call of the union men, without regard to former parties, than for Holt to fill the war department. His appointment alone would change the relative force of the belligerents 20 pr. cent.

Yr. obt. servt

GARRETT DAVIS.

From B. Rush Plumly."

Private.

PHILAD^a, Aug 29, 61

MY DEAR MR. CHASE. I place this letter under heads, for ease of consideration.

ST. LOUIS.

To day, Mr. Stokes, of Fredick, Stokes & Co. our strongest Domestic Commission House, and staunchly Republican, begged me to say to you, that Mr. Crow of St. Louis, of Crow, McCreary & Co. the best 'House' there and strongly union, was very anxious to convey to you, the necessity of money for Missouri, forthwith.

Mr. Crow, whom I know, & with whom I have just had a talk, says, that the prompt payment of debts there, will be better than bayonets, for every man who supplies Govt with a mule or horse or *other* supply, will be made loyal by the money.

^aBenjamin Rush Plumly, 1816-1887. Anti-Slavery worker, at this time general appraiser in the custom-house at Philadelphia.

Mr. Crow thinks it, the real pivot of the war in Mo. at this moment.

The rebels offer their scrip & if we pay cash or demand notes, we will diminish their force and increase our own.

Mr. Bates or Mr. Blair will tell you who and what, Mr. Crow is.

He thinks that the first million of your demand notes may *claim* the specie but, if you will authorize drafts on New York, no shipment of coin to St. Louis will be needed, and directly, no demand will be made.

He adds, that three or four millions of the notes will come East, at once, to pay debts, & so revive trade &c. &c.

He urges large payments there, for these reasons.

* * * * *

LEAVE OF ABSENCES.

I have had many urgent calls from St. Louis to come and help the Western Dpt where they are staggering under an avalanche of work.

I have said, that having your 'leave' I shall set out from here on Thursday next, & reach St. Louis on Saturday 7th.

I shall make this trip merely incidental, & only stay so long, as I may be indispensable. My power of work is great in certain directions, which Davis knows, & *they* theirs [Sic] (Davis & Fremont) are exhausted.

I shall resume my duties here, whenever they arise. The Gen^l app. office is no sinecure, when there is business. There are some sharp abuses; one, in California, that you will, probably think best to send me to investigate & abate, hereafter.

It is my conviction that *you* had better *send* me, as "Secret Agent" to St. Louis, rather than have me go, at the call of the General; and direct me to look after disbursements, purchases &c, so far as your Dp^t can. My reasons for this suggestion I cannot trust to paper but they are weighty.

I should render the war service all the same, and, I *think*, save millions.

This much, I may say 'if I *could* tell you what I *know*, not what I imagine, about this contract & supply practice you would do as I do, despair, not only of the Government

but of human nature. I cannot turn 'Informer' but I *could* be a sentinel.

I had, yesterday, a letter from R. G. Hazard, who says, that the impression your visit made, on the money & political circles of N. Y. & New England was very great indeed.

Sam. Ward, the Ag^t of Barings, said to Hazard that your personal presence and character and the confidence they have in you, carried all the measures.

Mr. Crow, said to Mr. Stokes that the weight of the war rested on you, and you were equal to it.

The same feeling is strong here and growing.

I mention these things, as refreshments for weary hours.

* * * * *

Ever truly Your friend

B. RUSH PEUMLY.

From Garrett Davis.

FRANKFORT 2^d Sept 1861

DR. SIR, The proclamation of Gen^l Fremont^a reached here yesterday, & is most inopportune for the Union party. I reached here Sunday morning. We had for some days before been, with the leading members of the legislature & other prominent union men of the State, arranging our movements and measures of the session; and had about completed them, when the proclamation fell amongst us with pretty much the effect of a bombshell. The slavery feature of the proclamation is greatly objected to by our friends, and has greatly disconcerted, & I fear has scattered us. We should have passed all our measures but for it, now I have serious doubts if we pass any of them. There is a very general, almost a universal feeling in this State against this war being or becoming a war against slavery. The position of the secessionists in this State, has been all the time, that it is, and this proclamation gives them the means of further & greatly pushing that deception. I do

^a On August 30 General Frémont issued a proclamation from his headquarters in St. Louis declaring the confiscation of the property "of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States" and the liberation of their slaves. Cf. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III. 470 ff.

not care about it myself except as it may be used to pervert public opinion & disturb the councils of union. It has caused me despondency for the first time for Ky. I wish it had not been made until this Legislature had done its business and adjourned.

I know that the general principle of the martial law is, that rebels forfeit all their estate & property, and that slaves form no exception. But many able men believe that this principle is so far modified by the constitution as to have no effect for a longer time than the life of the rebel. The martial law forfeits as well the life of all rebels, but it is not possible to execute this principle in all & every case. To a large extent not only policy, but necessity requires the application of the rule to be omitted. Would not the same considerations of policy at least require a relaxation of the forfeiture as to slaves?

You will pardon me for a simple suggestion. Thousands & tens of thousands had no knowledge, not even suspicion that they would incur a forfeiture of their property by arraying themselves against the Government. Ought not the administration to issue a proclamation setting forth these principles & consequences & give all people opportunity to return to their duty & save themselves.

Yr obt Ser^t

GARRETT DAVIS.

From George Hoadly.^a

CINCINNATI, Sept. 18, 1861.

MY DEAR SIR, My friend Charles D. Drake^b of St. Louis desires the post of Commissioner of taxes under the law of the last session. Without having one sentiment in each vir- in politics or religion, Mr. Drake & I have heretofore been personal friends for years. I respect & love the end of him, hope he may get the post. A hostility to him, does not live.

Men sustain him, and what is beyond these he is friendless & powerless. He cannot recruit a man, for his Regiment.

^a 1820-1890
 Wm. 185

It is perhaps idle to hope for his appointment, for Mr. D. has been a leader of the Douglas Democracy in Missouri, and personally (I believe) hostile to the Blairs, but the man is so fit, and my regard for him so great that I venture to say what I do.

Our people are in a state of great consternation and wrath on account of the quarrel between Fremont and the Administration, public opinion being entirely with Gen. Fremont. When men of the stamp of Judge Johnson and N. W. Thomas are openly denouncing Mr. Lincoln on the streets as an enemy of the country, you may judge how Radical Republicans feel. Day told me this morning he should go to St. Louis to urge Fremont not to resign, but to set the Administration at defiance.

Seriously, no word describes popular sentiment but "fury." I have heard men of sense, such as are called Conservative, advocate the wildest steps, such as the impeachment of Mr. Lincoln, the formation of a party to carry on the war irrespective of the President & under Fremont, &c, &c.

For myself, I must say that if the letters of Mr. Lincoln to Magoffin and Fremont are any fair indication of his character & policy, I pray God to forgive my vote for him. Loyal men are giving their lives and means like water to no end, if the imbecility of Buchanan's Administration is to be surpassed thus.

I cannot, cannot think that your wise head & true Anti Slavery heart have consented to this abasement of the manhood & honor of our nation. Let Mr. Lincoln, while he is conciliating the contemptible State of Kentucky, a State which ought to have been coerced long ago, bear in mind ^{that} the Free States may want a little conciliation, that they now ^{have} ~~are~~ giving their substance to secure the niggers of ^{the} ~~is~~ a very general war, redhanded war, wherein the same ^{means' lives, does not stop to secure} against this war being. The position of the secession. the time, that it is, and this proceeding ^{on the} policy of means of further & greatly pushing that deep ^{inter.}

^aOn August 30 General Fremont issued a proclamation from his headquarters in St. Louis declaring the confiscation of the property "of all persons in the State of Missouri who shall take up arms against the United States" and the liberation of their slaves. Cf. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, III. 470 ff.

What I said to him I still think, viz^t that though a post in the Cabinet is perfectly destructive to all hope of the Presidency, it is still the post of duty & honor to you, in which you have already gained great fame, and unless the public connect you with some such step as this modification of the Fremont proclamation, will gain you still more. From the consequences of the blunders and imbecility of others your splendid success in the Treasury Department has so far saved your fame. God grant it may not be touched by this last great disaster.

Your "severe friend" again,

GEO. HOADLY.

From B. R. Plumley.

HEAD QUARTERS, WESTERN DEPARTMENT,
St. Louis Mo Octo 9th /61

MY DEAR SIR Hearing that you were absent in New York, I have not written; indeed! the rapid course of events, here, makes them old, unless they are recorded, daily & it was useless to commit you to rereading what the Telegraph had announced.

I despatched to you the day of Fremont's rumored removal, for in thirty years of participation in popular commotions, I have never seen such desperate & deadly feeling as then existed.

The 'Head Quarters' were thronged with committees of inquiry & opposition, to his removal; great numbers of officers were preparing to resign; companies threw down their arms, or dashed them to peices. Mass meetings were extemporized and a general revolt seemed inevitable.

Had the report been true, the army would have been virtually disbanded. I am sure that Col Blair would have been killed in the street, I think *that* will be the end of him, sooner or later--so fearful is the hostility to him.

A few powerful and active men sustain him, and what is singular, they have been heretofore his most active enemies,--beyond these he is friendless & powerless. He cannot recruit a man, for his Regiment.

Since the publication of his charges against Fremont, the sentiment has strengthened against Blair, because some of the charges are the 'eating his own words' & others are flatly false.

I have taken them, one by one, and have sifted them without regard to Fremont or Blair. My dear friend, they are, some of them, unmixed lies.

I was, myself, the usher of several of the very men, who, it is said were excluded.

The charge of a Contract for mules to L. Haskill is without truth, but on the contrary a friend of Blairs, urged by him, is the largest buyer of horses, and he supplied such miserable stock, that the General was compelled to issue an order, that no more 'Missouri horses' should be bought.

It is so, all through. When I see you, I will give you facts & figures that are startling.

The charge made by Ex Mayor Filley, who is an honest man, but pig-headed, against Fox for various overcharges—was made to involve Fremont, when this same Fox is a friend of Blairs, who got him the very contracts, on which, it is said, he cheats.

I have gathered and arranged facts and dates, not for 'defence' but for history, which I will submit to you, in person, in a few days.

Very truly

B. RUSSELL PLUMLEY.

P. S. I shall be able, I hope to state to you, the real money need of this Dpt. Mr. Gurley's demand is foolish. I would not go *with* him to Washington for he has no discretion, besides, he is meanly hostile to you.

From E. B. Washburne.

CAIRO, ILLINOIS Oct. 31, 1861.

DEAR GOV. Just before leaving St. Louis yesterday, I received your despatch in regard to the payment of the claim of Kruse, Drexel & Schmidt which was answered by Judge Holman and myself. We thought it would be well for you to examine the testimony our committee has taken on the subject before you should make the payment. That

the whole thing is a swindle on the Government, not only to the extent of the original price of the arms, but the extent of the amount paid for altering a portion of them, I have no doubt. Yet you may feel constrained to pay for them, but there can be no great hardship to the sellers in a little delay. The guns cost them \$2.50 each and the gov't. is to pay \$6.50 each.

I was on the point of writing you from St. Louis several times, but the situation of things there was so terrible and the frauds so shocking, I did not know where to begin or where to end; and then again it appeared that everything communicated by our best men there in regard to Fremont and the condition of matters in the city and State, was utterly disregarded. Our committee labored for two weeks and our disclosures will astound the world and disgrace us as a nation. Such robbery, fraud, extravagance, speculation, as have been developed in Fremont's Department can hardly be conceived of. There has been an organized system of pillage, right under the eye of Fremont. Governor Chase: what does the administration mean by permitting this state of things to exist in the Western Department? It cannot be ignorant of what the situation of matters is. I fear things have run on so far, there is no remedy, and that all has gone. Fremont has really set up an authority over the Govt. and bids defiance to its commands. McKinstry, who directs and controls him, is not only a robber but a traitor. The Govt. in failing to strike at Fremont and his horde of pirates, acknowledges itself a failure. The credit of the gov't. is ruined. Everybody knows there has been such an extent of swindling, that payment ought not to be made, and people are now afraid to trust anybody who acts for the government. I am utterly discouraged and disheartened. A people so venal, so corrupt and so dishonest and unpatriotic are not deserving of free gov't.

Fremont is chasing a phantom—he will never catch Price. Nearly his whole force will have to return to St. Louis. It should be here today, ready to go down the river. We propose to make some examinations here. Genl. Grant, who is in command of this whole section, is one of the best officers in the army, and is doing wonders in bringing order

out of chaos. He is as incorruptible as he is brave. Genl. McClelland, in command of this particular post is doing admirably. But they complain they have no money, and are greatly deficient in arms. But enough—"jam *claudite* rivos." My paper is out.

Truly yours,

E. B. WASHBURN

From Richard Smith.^a

GAZETTE OFFICE

Cincinnati Nov. 7th 1861.

DEAR SIR: Is it known to the Administration that the West is threatened with a revolution? Could you have been among the people yesterday, and witnessed the excitement; could you have seen sober citizens pulling from their walls and trampling under foot the portrait of the President; and could you hear to-day the expressions of all classes of men—of all political parties, you would, I think feel as I feel, and as every sincere friend of the Government must feel—alarmed. What meaneth this burning of the President in effigy, by citizens who have hitherto sincerely and enthusiastically supported the war? What meaneth these boisterous outbursts of indignation; and these low mutterings favorable to a Western Confederacy that we hear? Why this sudden check to enlistments? Why this rejection of Treasury Notes by German citizens? Why is it that on the 6th of November 1861 not one dollar was subscribed here to the National loan? Why is it that it would not be safe to go into places where the Germans resort and publicly express an opinion favorable to the President? Why this sudden, this extraordinary, this startling change in public sentiment, on 'change, in the street, in the banking house, in the palace and the cottage, in country and city? Is it not time for the President to stop and consider, whether, as this is a government of the people, it is not unsafe to disregard and override public sentiment, as has been done in the case of Gen'l Fremont? The public con-

^a1823-1898. At this time owner and editor of the Cincinnati Gazette.

sider that Fremont has been made a martyr of. The publication of Thomas' report is universally regarded as not only unjust, but absolutely disgraceful; and this more than any thing else is the cause of the existing excitement. Had the President removed Fremont before he took the field, and without undertaking to make a case against him, in advance of a trial, he would have been sustained. But the measures that preceded the removal and the time selected for executing the order were most unfortunate. The fruit of this action is now ripening in every house and shop—wherever men live or congregate, throughout the West; and if our army should now be defeated by Price, or should there be another "Bull" disaster at the East, the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended. These are the facts; and I have deemed it my duty to lay them privately before you.

We are threatened with a revolution in the North. The fire may seem but a spark now; but the coal is there, and if it once gets into a blaze, we may well tremble for our country. The people are getting tired of inaction. Fremont has been active. Hence his great popularity. The war must be prosecuted vigorously. Otherwise it will not be sustained by the people. Delay is losing the opportunity for breaking the back of the rebellion in Tennessee. Dash and vigor rather than great preparation are what is needed most. Fremont had the dash. He was going ahead. He was sacrificed upon the altar of "great preparations." So the people think. Consequently he is now, so far as the West is concerned, the most popular man in the country. He is to the West what Napoleon was to France; while the President has lost the confidence of the people. This state of things is to be deplored. It is distressing. That this tendency toward anarchy may be checked, is the object of this letter, which is intended only for your own information.

Your obt. servant

RICH'D SMITH.

From John G. Nicolay.^a

NASHVILLE, TENN. *April 5, 1862.*

DEAR SIR: I arrived here night before last, and yesterday morning communicated your instructions to Mr. Allen A. Hall, who concurred with the other officers in approving the change made to facilitate commerce.

Mr. Hall informs me that according to information so far received, there are some eight or ten thousand bales of cotton, and some twenty or thirty thousand hogsheads of tobacco within the region of which this is the commercial centre, and which he hopes will before a great while find their way to northern markets.

This city has thus far been very quiet under the Union occupation. The secession sentiment is still strongly predominant, and manifests itself continually in taunts and insults to federal soldiers and officials. The Union men are yet too much intimidated to speak out and act. They still fear and the rebels still hope that our army will have reverses and that the confederate troops will return and occupy and control not only this city, but the State. On the contrary, there appears to be quite a decided impression, that if we win another important battle in the neighborhood of Corinth or Decatur, active secessionism in Tennessee will wilt and die out. I am quite satisfied from my own observation that if our forces meet and vanquish the present rebel armies, Tennessee will return to and remain in the Union without further struggle.

I return to Louisville, tomorrow and go at once from there to Cairo and St. Louis.

Your obt servt.

JNO. G. NICOLAY

From George Bancroft.^b

NEWPORT R. I. *August 9, '62*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE: I return the interesting & able paper which you were so good as to allow me to read. I think you were unquestionably right in advising the Presi-

^aJohn George Nicolay, 1822-1901. Journalist. Private secretary of President Lincoln, 1861-1865.

^b1800-1891.

dent to give up Slidell & Mason; & the reason which you assign for your opinion, is conclusive. I am even inclined to believe that their character as envoys did not according to the true law of nations, expose the Trent to capture.

Whether different opinions might not be justified by British precedents, is a very different matter; I should have been ready to see our government asserting the validity of those precedents.

I am ever my dear Mr. Chase very truly your friend

GEO. BANCROFT.

P. S. You have the credit, & I hope & believe deservedly, of seeing the true nature of this rebellion which is burdening the free industry of the country with a cloud of debt. The South is bent on a revolution; in revolutions, half-way measures always fail. The only way to raise a party for you in Virginia is by the abolition of slavery. The finest portion of our country deserves to produce some better staple than slaves. Tell the President to break up the Virginia trade in slaves by the only measure which can at once crush the traffic & the rebellion. If your administration makes peace, leaving slavery & the domestic slave-trade existing in Virginia, what will the world, what will the next generation say of you? The boldest measures are the safest; the way & the only way to preserve the union is by abolishing slavery. Look at the imbecility of your pro-slavery McClellan; look at your sham[?] pacification in the Eastern shore of Virginia. Would to God, we could see disinterested patriotism, a strong will, & a clear perception of the character of this struggle united. The constitution has for its primal object the maintenance of the Union; it is entrusted, the government, with all powers to enact laws necessary & proper for the carrying into execution the powers vested in the government; & as the termination of slavery is proper & necessary to that end, Congress & the President, in this extreme case of its own life or death, the life or death of the constitution, should adopt (& has not Congress substantially adopted) the measure of doing away with the institution, which, as long as it continues, renders a restoration of the Union impossible.

Slavery ought forthwith to be put an end to in Virginia, & forever; and avowedly & openly on the ground that so only can regenerated Virginia be reconciled to the union.

From Henry Ward Beecher.^a

BROOKLYN *Monday 28 Dec^r. 63*

MY DEAR MR. CHASE—Your letter of Dec. 26 has just reached me. I mean to be in Washington again. But, I do not yet see the time. It may slip entirely. But it will not alter the fact of my desire & intention. You speak of Gov. Sprague and his wife, whom I should be greatly pleased to meet, & just now, I am in a very amiable mood, my own son, Harry, a lieutenant in the artillery, regulars, having brought to my house a charming wife, & they together are ruling both father and mother, & having everything their own way.

I agree with the view which you express of the Presidents Message & Proclamation. His mind works in the right *directions*, but seldom works clearly & cleanly. His bread is of unbolted flour, & much straw, too, mixes in the bran, & sometimes gravel stones. Yet, on the whole the loaf will sustain life, tho' it makes eating a difficulty, rather than a pleasure. But will not *the Legislation* of Congress, be of a kind to make up, in some degree? I have been inclined to hope that we could get from Congress what we lack in the President.

I do not think that Mr. Phillips *meant* harm —or *did* harm, even with those who are most under his influence. Certainly he cannot shake the conviction of the great mass of intelligent men that you have been soundly, consistently & wisely faithful to the doctrines of liberty, thro' good report & evil, in office & out of it. But, I confess, that I have a sort of pleasure in having lived to see a day when the way to diminish a man's influence is to charge him with not having been enough a hater of slavery! During all my life time till now, any suspicion of a love for liberty has been fatal to political aspirations. I do not know that I mentioned to

you, when I was in Washington, the very great esteem which I found for you in Gt. Britain. All were not agreed as to the soundness of the financial policy of the administration, ultimately—but all were united in praising the great skill and administrative ability which had been shown.

I wish you, and all your family the best wishes of the Holidays—a merry Christmas & a Happy New Year.

I am very truly yours,

H. W. BEECHER.

From Daniel Ammen.^a

“MOHICAN” OFF FORT FISHER N. C.

16th Jan'y '65.

MY DEAR CHIEF JUSTICE: Three weeks only have passed since our former attempt, and although they were then comparatively weak in men and in various other points we now hold Fort Fisher.

It is a most formidable sand fort which received a fearful bombardment and was then taken by assault by the army with great gallantry, the Naval assaults having been swept by heavy artillery and repulsed with loss.

In the Fort to-day I saw a soldier picking up some rebel dirty clothing & advised him to let it alone as he would get louzy. A wounded rebel sitting near immediately spoke up and said he was not one half as louzy as our Gen'l Butler and then went on to say that he himself had not changed or taken off his clothing since the 27th of December. Pardon my introduction of so coarse a subject but I did so to show how thoroughly he had the hatred of the people of the South. I do not think any military ability that he has shown will compensate for the Phrenzy with which he inspires them.

The work that Gen'l Butler pronounced as “substantially uninjured” had few guns that were not dismounted or injured and those that were sound the rebels dared not man so fearfully destructive was our fire. They have shown great activity in the past three weeks, disabled guns and carriages have been set aside and others substituted, and

^a 1820-1898. Naval officer. Made commander in 1863 and a rear-admiral in 1877.

we arrived in time *to finish* an earthwork that the rebels have been engaged upon for more than two years with an average labor of five hundred per day, and which yet showed signs of unabated activity.

An explosion of a magazine this morning caused great loss of life, more indeed than the attack. I shall leave to the newspapers to acquaint you with the details of our operations, and only write to express my congratulations at the event which appears to me very important, & to express the hope that we may long be able to spare the services of Gen'l Butler.

Please present my compliments to Mrs. Sprague and to Miss Chase whom I have not seen for a long time.

Very sincerely yours,

DAN'L AMMEN.

From Horace Greeley.^a

NEW YORK, *May 31, 1866.*

MY DEAR SIR: I presume you are aware that Messrs O'Connor and Shea, counsel for Jefferson Davis, will appear in Richmond on Monday next, at the opening of the U. S. Circuit Court there, expressly to urge on the trial of their client, or at all events, to procure an assignment of a time certain at which that trial shall take place.

I write to beg you to be present on that occasion and to preside over the court if possible; and, if anything needs to be done to render it proper, to do so, I am confident that an intimation from yourself to the Attorney General will secure the requisite action.

You know, dear sir, that our friend Judge Underwood will be out of his depth on such an occasion, and that it is indispensable that the hearing as well as the action of the court shall be such as will command respect even where it fails to secure approval.

I will say no more, but profoundly trust that the proceedings to be had on this occasion will be guided to a fit issue by yourself.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

From W. G. Brownlow.^a

KNOXVILLE, EAST TENNESSEE, *June 20th, 1866.*

MY DEAR SIR: Your kind letter was forwarded to me by my Secretary, and my Proclamation convening an extra-session appears in the Nashville papers of this morning. The call is for 4th of July. We shall have no trouble in passing the Amendments in the Senate, but I anticipate trouble in the House. I wish Fowler, Maynard & Stokes could be at Nashville. The party of the President, the "My Policy" men will do all they can to defeat us. In this Union end of the State, composed of 31 counties, we have *nine* newspapers, and seven of them are in the service of the President and the rebels. "Johnson Clubs" are being organized, and they have money as they need it. I know not where it comes from. The patronage of the Federal Government is bestowed upon rebels and copperheads alone, in this State.

The President had taken such a noble stand in 1861, and had been so badly treated by the Rebels, that I thought he would remain firm and true. But I have long since given him up. He has conceived the idea of a *second term*, and to receive it, he puts himself at the head of the rebels of the South, and the copperheads of the North, the latter, meaner men than the former.

I think we can pass the Amendments. We have a noble majority in both Houses, and no resolution can pass either House endorsing the President and his policy. Fortunately, myself and the Legislature are in office until October, 1867, more than a year longer.

I have kind recollections of your friendship when I needed aid. I was pleased when you were promoted to the high and responsible position of Chief Justice; and my deepest regrets are, because you are not in the office so poorly filled by *A. Johnson*. His treachery is ruining us in the South, and setting upon us, like wolves, the rebel forces of all the seceded States. If the rebels get the control of Tennessee, we union men will be forced to leave the

^a 1806-1877. Itinerant Methodist preacher 1826- ; editor of Knoxville Whig 1838- ; Unionist during the civil war; governor of Tennessee 1865-1869; Senator from Tennessee 1869-1875.

State. For all this, *A. Johnson* is to blame, and no one else. His secret detectives are all over the South, under pay. But I must close. I write you frankly as I do all friends, and I write you facts, with this exception, that matters are even worse than I present them to you.

Very truly, &c, &c,

W. G. BROWNLOW,
Governor of Tennessee.

From Wager Swayne.^a

HEADQUARTERS, DISTRICT OF ALABAMA,

Montgomery, Ala., Dec. 10, 1866.

MY DEAR SIR: I have a great deal to thank you for in the very kind tenor of your favor of 4th inst., and its interesting and valuable statements.

Before it reached me, my own mind had settled on the same conclusion you express. The rapid growth of purpose to enforce at all hazards the Congressional plan of restoration, its power, and the measures proposed to that end, made an impression here, which made it seem to many of us wise to attempt immediate ratification.

Accordingly, on Thursday morning was sent in the message of which I sent you a copy. It produced a marked sensation, but no sensible recoil. That night we thought we should succeed, we seemed to be in full possession of the Senate. The strain however was severe, such as only could be due to the threatening programme of a Territorial government with indefinite results. For it was undeniable that the people, ignorant, proud, and without mail facilities were not yet up to the necessity, and would be severe upon whoever should act favorably without consulting them. And yet so vivid was the memory of '60-'61, that this dread would have been overcome.

Unfortunately, a dispatch had gone to Governor Parsons, asking counsel. It came, emphatic that the Amendment be at once rejected, and that the Legislature meet again in January. I don't believe this had the inspiration of the

^a1834-1902. Lawyer and Soldier. At this time General Swayne was in command of the district of Alabama.

President, yet it was openly asserted that it had. The cry was raised "we cant desert *our* President," and quite soon it was plain that a vote was unavoidable, and that the measure would be lost. Then all those who were willing to hazard their positions on the consequences of success fell into line and we were left with scarce a force to muster. But they went home with sad hearts.

When they come back, they'll be prepared for either course. Meanwhile the Governor, I think, will follow up the new direction. He goes tonight to Florence, where he lives, and probably will speak this week at Huntsville and Tusculumbia. Then he expects to go to Washington, and others with him, to confer, and see the ground, and to fend off a possible disruption. I still hope we may ratify when he comes back.

A week ago, a bill was introduced resembling Stuarts proposition. That is the programme seems to have been to amend the constitution of this State according to impartial suffrage, and then ask representation leaving the amnesty question in the hand of Congress. This I am told is popular, and the member is sustained by his constituents.

My friends who go to Washington desire your acquaintance. I bid them go, because I like to swell the number of your friends.

Present me very kindly to the ladies, when you write. I am gratefully and respectfully,

Yours

WAGER SWAYNE.

From John Jay.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB,
New York Jan 5th 1867

MY DEAR JUDGE CHASE--Thanks for your note the first I have had the pleasure of receiving from you for a long time. I wrote you once from Europe, but do not know if my letter reached you.

In regard to the Constitutional Amendment & the exception it makes for crime, I regret that language had not been used so plain as to allow of no difference of opinion or construction, in view of the disposition that was sure to

exist in the rebel states to strain every point in favor of slavery.

I believe that in abolishing slavery in the Northern States, no such exception was deemed necessary to save the right of imprisonment for crime—and I am not sure that I regard your suggestion that the exception applies not to slavery but only to involuntary servitude, as having the conclusive weight with my mind that it has with yours, if one looks only at the language employed, for in the clause “there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except for crime,” the words “neither” & “nor” seem to place slavery & involuntary servitude in the same category. But I am entirely clear that such was not the intent of Congress, nor of the State Legislatures that adopted the Amendment nor of the American people whose will they were expressing in that vote—& I think that the Supreme Court have the right & that it is their duty to give the clause a construction that will prevent the re-establishment of slavery in any form under the pretence that it is sanctioned by the Amendment, & the sooner we have a final adjudication to this effect the better.

Touching the pending Amendment I had not shared the impression to which you refer that it admitted by implication the exclusive right of the states to control the Suffrage question.

The decision which I most wish to see pronounced by your Court is that the adoption of the Amendment abolishing slavery has destroyed the only exception recognized by the Constitution to the great principle of the Declaration of Independence and that from the date of the adoption of the Amendment all persons black & white stand upon an equal footing—& that all state legislation establishing or recognizing distinction of race or colour are void. This is a proposition easy to be understood, & I think capable of easy demonstration. It would give us a broad National policy on which to re-construct the Union. & I think it would be cordially welcomed by all truly loyal citizens, as one demanded by our situation—& necessities--& one which will clear our path of various troublesome questions that make our progress difficult.

I read your opinion in the Milligan case with warm admira-

tion of its clear statement & sound logic, but with profound regret that you were not speaking for the majority of the Judges. If, as the public begin to fear, their denial in that case of the powers of Congress, is any index to the view they are prepared to take of the great questions that will come before them in reference to reconstruction, our situation is certainly a grave one. & it will require more wisdom than the Republican managers have sometimes shewn to surmount successfully the formidable opposition no longer of a simply obstinate President's defying the will of the people, but of an Executive furnished with a constitutional standpoint by the Supreme Judiciary, giving validity to his acts, & checkmating Congress at the most eventful moment by denying its powers & annulling its legislation.

I cannot yet consent to believe that we are to be brought into this dilemma —& that appointees of Mr. Lincoln are ready to imitate the late Chief Justice in making the Courts the chief support of the advocates of slavery & the Rebellion. The bare idea of the rebel states casting their votes for election in 1868—the blacks being excluded — & giving us again a democratic & rebel gov. is altogether intolerable — & yet that is what the Northern Democracy begin to hope for. & expect.

Mrs. Jay & my children who are all well reciprocate your cordial good wishes & I am

Always faithfully yours

JOHN JAY.

.. ..

From W. C. Bryant.^a

ROSLYN, LONG ISLAND

June 23d 1868

MY DEAR SIR---I thank you for your letter of the 19th, which is admirable in every respect. When I wrote to you the tide was running so strongly in your favor here — that is to say in New York — that it seemed to me impossible for the Convention of the 4th of July to avoid nominating you for the Presidency. You have surveyed the ground from

^aWilliam Cullen Bryant, 1794-1878. Mr. Bryant was editor in chief of the New York Evening Post, 1828-1878. Chase's letter referred to is printed in Schuckers's Life, 588.

a higher point of view and with a more comprehensive vision.

Parties will probably require another term of four years to adjust themselves to the new state of things consequent upon the civil war, and the reduction of the rebellion. In some way or other the policy of equal suffrage that is to say, suffrage without distinction of color, must be accepted sooner or later by both parties as the permanent policy of the country—as not only just but necessary to its domestic peace.

There is much in what you say of the power of influencing public opinion at the South which your present relation to political parties will give you. I have no doubt that the power will be exercised in such a manner as to add to the obligations which your country already owes you.

I am, dear Sir, very truly yours,

W. C. BRYANT.

From Samuel Ward.^a

NEW YORK 10th July 1868.

MY DEAR SIR Mr. Craig & others of the N Y Delegation assure me that you could have been nominated by New York, Maine, Massachusetts, R. Island, Georgia & Wisconsin on the 22nd ballot. Anticipating this Mr. Cook, who had laid the plot against you the evening previous with Johnson, Martin & another Ohioan (Mr. Vallandigham) threw Seymour's name into the convention and blew up the ship. I think Seymour was sincere & candid he had enough sense to disbelieve in the possibility of his election but so flattering a demonstration of Democratic enthusiasm overwhelmed him.

You will see in today's "World" that he made an earnest speech in your favor in the N. Y. Delegation yesterday am, & that the vote taken gave you 37 votes against 24. 11 votes of the Ohio Delegation had likewise been secured.

Mr. Cook's desperation carried this unhappy nomination by a '*coup de main*.'

^a1814-1884. Banker, politician, and littérateur.

John A. Green, who was in the secret, was asked by Mr. Cook to get Seymour out of the way. He went to Van Buren & begged him to entice the Governor from his seat. This Van B refused to do—So that I & mine were true to our convictions & feelings.

Yours sincerely

SAM^l WARD

P. S. I am giving it as my opinion that the Reconstruction portions of the Platform were distasteful to you.

S. W.

I enclose a checked ballot of the N. York Delegation of yesterday morning. Checked off by Mr. Nutter Mr. Craig's clerk, a young N. Hampshire lawyer & a great devotee of yours.

From M. Halstead.^a

CINCINNATI, Oct. 20th, 1869.

DEAR SIR: It has been a good while since I wrote you or heard any thing from you directly. The last that I saw from your pen was the letter published in the New York Sun in which you had not heard of any Chase movement and expressed your willingness to let the Presidency pass.

Now while many do, I do not doubt your sincerity in that letter, and yet I write to say that presently I think you will hear of Chase movements-- of a great variety of Chase movements. It may happen to be a coincidence that about the time Chase dropped the Presidency from his mind, the people of the United States saw -what they had neglected or failed to see-- that Chase as the foremost man in the nation was the fittest man for the chief magistracy.

Perhaps you may have taken note that the defeat of Mr. Pendleton in Ohio was the best possible initiation of a Chase movement in the Mississippi valley. It moves now and will go on. Of course you must be perfectly serene and still. Let it go on of itself.

The Hoffman movement in New York is good for you too. It cannot amount to anything; and will do to turn in to you.

Grant and Boutwell are both in effect working for you.

^a Murat Halstead, 1829—. Journalist.

The better the condition of the finances the less trouble with the Greenbackers. The Fifteenth Amendment will go too; and the negroes have not forgotten you. You can't convince a colored man that Chase is not sound and true. And you see too that Grant is doing all that he can for you. Borie, Robeson, Belknap and so forth count for the Chase movement. I will be in Washington in November and expect to call upon you.

Respectfully & truly

M. HALSTEAD.

From Johns Hopkins.^a

BALTO June 24, 1870.

MY DEAR SIR: I have received your kind letter of June 20th, and return you my thanks for your cordial expression of good will.

I unite with you in the earnest wish that the University and Hospital bearing my name, may prove to be substantial blessings to the community. I have confided the management of each institution to competent trustees and I shall take care to place at their disposal means sufficient to maintain both institutions. I may therefore indulge the reasonable hope that my friends will not be disappointed in the practical utility of these undertakings. I am very truly and sincerely your friend

JOHNS HOPKINS.

^a1795-1873. Merchant and capitalist, founder of the Johns Hopkins University and Johns Hopkins Hospital.

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